

# Appendix

## United States Against E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to support my bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the tax treatment of stock of the General Motors Corp. to be distributed pursuant to an antitrust divestiture decree arising from United States against E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

It is my deep and sincere conviction that my bill, H.R. 8868, will help resolve the problems facing the Du Pont stockholders who are immediately affected by a recent decision of the Supreme Court which requires that E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. dispose of all of its stock in the General Motors Corp.

Earlier this year, I introduced a bill, H.R. 7348, which was identical to a legislative measure on the Du Pont problem approved by the House Ways and Means Committee in 1959.

Upon the introduction of H.R. 7348, I said that:

It is entirely possible that further action of the Ways and Means Committee, working with officials of the new Democratic administration in Washington, may be necessary to further perfect legislation dealing with the divestiture ordered by the Supreme Court.

I am convinced that it is neither necessary nor wise to try to solve all of the problems which may arise in all of the antitrust divestiture cases in the future before we provide a fair solution for those involved in the Du Pont case. It must not be allowed to drag on and on until everyone concerned loses hope of a just solution. This case must be concluded promptly and fairly. Substantial sums of money and a considerable segment of our population are involved so that I believe it would be in the public interest for Congress to devise the appropriate means of solution. Accordingly, my proposal will by its terms apply to the Du Pont decision and the particular Du Pont stockholders immediately and directly affected by the Supreme Court decision. In order to get the case disposed of promptly, my proposal will apply only if all of such divestiture is completed on or before January 1, 1964.

My proposal would provide for individual stockholders the same tax that would be paid under the bill, H.R. 8190, introduced by the gentleman from Illinois, Congressman MASON. In general, an individual, for instance, who bought or inherited his Du Pont stock since 1949

would not pay any tax on the General Motors stock distributed to him because his basis in the Du Pont stock will be greater than the value of the General Motors stock he receives. Likewise, an individual who bought or inherited his Du Pont stock before 1949 would pay some tax at capital gain rates, the amount of the tax depending on how much the value of the General Motors stock exceeded the basis of his Du Pont stock.

Moreover, under H.R. 8868, the distribution of General Motors shares to individuals would reduce the basis of the Du Pont shares in an amount equal to the fair market value of the General Motors shares and any excess of the value of the General Motors shares over the basis of the Du Pont stock would be taxed at capital gains rates. Thus, assuming that the value of the General Motors shares distributed with respect to each share of Du Pont was \$60, any shareholder with a basis of \$60 or more in his Du Pont stock would receive the General Motors shares without paying any tax. The shareholder's basis in the Du Pont stock would be reduced \$60. Any shareholder whose basis in his Du Pont stock was less than \$60 would pay capital gains tax on the excess of the \$60 value of the General Motors shares distributed over his basis. His basis in the Du Pont stock would be zero and his basis in the General Motors stock would be its fair market value.

I have been disturbed by the application in the instant case of the provisions of existing law which permits a corporate shareholder receiving a distribution in property other than money to get the double benefit of the 85-percent dividends received deduction and permission to treat as gross income less than the fair market value of property received.

In the Mason bill, H.R. 8190, this problem is dealt with by introducing a change in permanent law embracing all dividends received in the form of property other than money by a corporation. This will have far-reaching implications. Using the instant situation to change long-standing rules of present law in unrelated situations can only result in slowing down legislative action on the immediate problem which is the relief of hundreds of thousands of innocent Du Pont and General Motors shareholders from an undeserved penalty.

My bill would provide relief to persons who receive General Motors stock from a corporation, such as Christiana Securities, for example, which holds Du Pont stock only if two conditions are met: First, the intermediate holding company must be required under the court decree to divest itself of such General Motors stock as it received from Du Pont; and second, the intermediate

corporation must have elected to pay the higher tax under the special corporate provision which is similar in effect to section 2 of H.R. 8190.

The Mason bill changes the tax treatment of a corporation receiving as a dividend property other than cash in all cases whether or not there is any connection with an antitrust suit.

The McDowell bill says this treatment will apply only to a corporation affected by the Du Pont decision if the corporation elects this treatment in order that its own shareholders may qualify for the return of capital provided in this bill.

Under present law, General Motors stock that is distributed to Christiana Securities, for example, would be taxed at about 16 cents a share. And if the court requires them to distribute this to their own shareholders the value of such stock would be taxed like a dividend to the Christiana shareholders.

I include here the text of my bill, H.R. 8868, to provide for the tax treatment of stock of the General Motors Corp. distributed pursuant to an antitrust divestiture decree arising from United States against E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.:

H.R. 8868

To provide for the tax treatment of stock of the General Motors Corporation distributed pursuant to an antitrust divestiture decree arising from United States against E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding any provisions of subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, if a shareholder receives a distribution, before January 1, 1964, from a corporation pursuant to an order entered by the United States district court under the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States in United States against E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, (366 U.S. 316), and if—

(1) such distribution consists solely of stock (including rights to fractional shares) of General Motors Corporation,

(2) section 301 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 would (but for this Act) apply to such distribution, and

(3) such distribution is part of a divestiture of such holdings of the General Motors Corporation stock required to be divested pursuant to such order,

then for purposes of subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, such distribution shall be treated as provided in section 2.

SEC. 2. (a) INDIVIDUAL SHAREHOLDERS.—In the case of an individual shareholder—

(1) the fair market value of the distributed stock shall be applied against and reduce the adjusted basis of the Du Pont stock with respect to which the distribution is made. That portion, if any, of the fair market value of the distribution which exceeds such adjusted basis shall be treated as gain from the sale or exchange of property;

(2) the basis of the stock received shall, in the distributee's hands, be its fair market value at the time of the distribution;

(3) the basis of the Du Pont stock with respect to which such distribution was made

shall be its adjusted basis immediately before such distribution, reduced (but not below zero) by such fair market value; and

(4) the earnings and profits of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company shall not be reduced by reason of such distribution. An individual who receives stock described in the first section of this Act on the basis of his holding of stock in a corporation other than E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company shall apply paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) as though his holding was in such company but only if the distributor has elected to have subsection (b) apply.

(b) CORPORATE SHAREHOLDERS.—In the case of a corporate shareholder electing to have this treatment apply, the distribution shall be treated as provided by section 301 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, except that—

(1) the amount of the distribution shall be the fair market value of the stock received.

(2) the basis of the stock received shall, in the hands of the distributee corporation, be the fair market value of the property distributed, minus the deduction for dividends received, as provided for in sections 243, 244, 245, and 246, attributable to the distribution as determined under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate.

### Support for 2 Days for Voting

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. KENNETH B. KEATING**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. KEATING. Madam President, on April 27, 1961, I introduced a bill (S. 1749) to provide that elections be held for 2 days. In introducing this measure, I indicated that there would have to be considerable study and discussion before this legislation was enacted. Such consideration is extremely important. I believe we must take every possible step to increase voter turnout to better our present record of about 60 percent of persons over 21 voting for President and Vice President.

I am pleased that my bill has resulted in a good deal of debate on the relative advantages and disadvantages of holding presidential elections for 2 days. This is certainly healthy.

Madam President, I am pleased to call attention today to several recent editorial comments on this proposal. One from the San Francisco Examiner strongly endorses the bill which I have introduced and which my colleague, Mr. HALPERN, has introduced in the other body to have elections held for 2 days. In addition, I should like to call attention to two comments from the New York Journal American, an editorial supporting our bill and a news account of the statement which I made in introducing this measure.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner, June 14, 1961]

#### THE WAY TO BETTER ELECTION TURNOUTS

Congress should act without stalling on the companion bills introduced by Senator KEATING and Representative HALPERN, both Republicans, of New York, to give Americans 2 days for voting in presidential elections.

Since 1952, the Examiner and other Hearst newspapers have sought such legislation as a vitally needed reform to widen exercise of the voting franchise. Even in presidential elections, which bring out nearly double the number of off year voters, the best polling record the United States can show is less than 63 percent of the qualified electorate. More than a dozen nations are far ahead of us, with voting records running up to 90 percent.

It is generally recognized that allowing 2 days for voting would bring out many stay-at-homes who are deterred by circumstances beyond their control. It is also recognized that elections have been won and lost by margins far smaller than the number who failed to vote.

The Keating-Halpern legislation deserves the support of every one who believes in giving the most people the maximum chance to choose their government.

[From the New York Journal American, July 28, 1961]

#### VOTING TIME

Congress should act without stalling on the companion bills introduced by Senator KEATING, Republican of New York, and Representative HALPERN, Republican of New York, to give Americans 2 days for voting in presidential elections.

Since 1952, the Hearst newspapers have sought such legislation as a vitally needed reform to widen exercise of the voting franchise. Even in presidential elections, which bring out nearly double the number of off-year voters, the best polling record the United States can show is less than 63 percent of the qualified electorate. More than a dozen nations are far ahead of us, with voting records running up to 90 percent.

The Keating-Halpern legislation deserves the support of everyone who believes in giving the most people the maximum chance to choose their government.

[From the New York Journal American, May 8, 1961]

#### KEATING WANTS 2-DAY ELECTIONS

WASHINGTON.—Senator KEATING, Republican of New York, has proposed presidential elections be held on 2 days.

Extending the election period, according to Senator KEATING, would enable more people to vote and might cut down on election corruption.

"The number of people who do not go to the polls is, more often than not, greater than the margin between the two major candidates," Mr. KEATING said.

He pointed out in the 1960 election, 5 million people were unable to vote because they were ill or hospitalized.

Many of these people, the Senator claimed, "might have been able to leave their places of confinement had there been another 1 or 2 days available for voting."

Many travelers who were unable to obtain absentee ballots probably could have returned home to vote on a second election day.

Senator KEATING maintained that voting on 2 days would not make a significant difference in the opportunities for voting fraud and corrupt election practices.

"In fact, by avoiding crowded polling places and hectic voting deadlines, we might even cut down on opportunities for vote frauds and corrupt election practices," he said.

Other reforms Mr. KEATING recommended are liberalizing residency requirements, broadening absentee ballot rules, revising literacy tests, simplifying the ballots and modernizing registration systems.

### The Connally Reservation to the Jurisdiction of the World Court—A Necessary Amendment

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. TALMADGE. Madam President, a persuasive editorial in support of retention of the Connally reservation to the jurisdiction of the World Court was featured by the Augusta, Ga., Chronicle-Herald in its edition of Sunday, August 20, 1961. Entitled "A Necessary Amendment," it sets forth in the space of one short presentation the compelling reasons why the American people must not allow specious contentions to confuse the urgent necessity for retaining this vital safeguard of our Nation's sovereignty. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A NECESSARY AMENDMENT

When the United States adopted a resolution formally recognizing the jurisdiction of the World Court in 1946, the late Senator Tom Connally of Texas wisely—and successfully—campaigning for an amendment to the resolution. His amendment, which has since become the object of widespread controversy, reserves this Nation's right to determine which issues are domestic and, therefore, not properly within the jurisdiction of the World Court.

From its inception, the Connally amendment has been under heavy fire from those in this Nation and abroad who would have the United States submit itself completely to the international tribunal, a court of predominantly foreign judges which already includes 2 Communist and only 1 American among its 15 members. These opponents of the Connally reservation claim that acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court is the way to world peace through law.

The Connally repeal movement, unfortunately, has gained wide support, and it was given a new push a few weeks ago by the Continental Conference on World Peace and Law in San Jose, Costa Rica. This meeting was attended by lawyer-delegates of all 23 nations of the Americas, and one of the principal members was Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, D.C., chairman of the American Bar Association Special Committee on World Peace Through Law. Rhyne is on record as favoring repeal of the Connally amendment.

The San Jose meeting is one of a series planned to propagandize all nations into accepting the World Court's jurisdiction without a restrictive amendment.



But a countermovement also is underway, the Chronicle-Herald was pleased to learn recently. A letter from the Committee for Connally Amendment announced formation of that group and pledged its efforts toward encouraging Americans to oppose repeal of the vital amendment.

The committee pointed out that claims of international peace through international law fail to meet critical examination for several reasons:

"1. There is no international law. A court, per se, has no meaning unless there is some body of law on the basis of which it may act. Law comes first, not a court. This court can, as presently set up, do anything that comes into its collective head.

"2. The judges are selected by concurrent action of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The General Assembly is being overrun by a flood of adolescent nations who, if not Red, are more often neutralist or pro-Red.

"3. When we speak of peace through law, we fail to name the international source of unrest, or war, and of general trouble making. The fountainhead is Soviet Russia. Are we going to be foolish enough to suppose that Russia will accept the jurisdiction of this court? If she will not, then all this peace through law is simply nonsense. It can, in the long run, only serve the cause of Russia herself.

"4. Our national sovereignty is the only thing that protects our freedoms."

This is the heart of the case for the Connally amendment. In our opinion, it more than justifies the retention of this reservation in America's relation to a World Court that is of dubious makeup and questionable value.

#### Statement in Support of H.R. 4222

##### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement submitted to the House Committee on Ways and Means by the Governor of my State of Michigan, the Honorable John B. Swainson, on his own behalf and on the behalf of the Governors of the States of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

As Governor Swainson so aptly points out, the need of passage of H.R. 4222 is clear and immediate, because existing programs simply have not done the job, and "medical care delayed is medical care denied."

It is my hope that the Members of this Congress will give their serious consideration to this statement:

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 4222 SUBMITTED TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS BY GOV. JOHN B. SWAINSON, OF MICHIGAN, IN BEHALF OF HIMSELF AND GOV. MICHAEL V. DE SALLE, OF OHIO, GOV. OTTO KERNER, OF ILLINOIS, GOV. GAYLORD A. NELSON, OF WISCONSIN, AND GOV. MATTHEW E. WELSH, OF INDIANA

This statement in support of H.R. 4222 is presented in behalf of the Governors of the five Great Lakes States—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In these five States represented by the Governors who

join in this statement live one-fifth of the Nation's citizens aged 65 and over. In these States, approximately one out of every six adults is a senior citizen, facing the hazardous risks of greater incidence of need for health care, at greater and greater costs to them, at a time when their retirement income is inadequate to meet such costs on a continuing basis.

We repeat the urgent request in the resolution passed by the majority of the 1960 Governors' conference for congressional passage of the necessary machinery to provide for the rational and dignified payment of basic health care for the aged through the social security system. Existing efforts to meet this growing problem of senior citizens and their families—such as old age assistance programs, medical assistance for the aged, and private health insurance—simply do not provide the answer.

While some sincere advocates of these three piece-meal approaches argue that we should be patient and "give them a chance," we are forced to proclaim that medical care delayed is medical care denied. Moreover, such programs are not and cannot be adequately financed, through already near-exhausted State tax sources or through premium payments by aged individuals.

Instead, we firmly believe in the system of meeting the hazards of old age through systematic contributions by employee and employer while the employee is in the labor force—not after he is retired. This is the workable and efficient machinery accepted by American society over the past quarter of a century. We deplore the destructive attacks on the social security system, by some powerful groups in their irrational opposition to utilizing the system for the purpose of financing adequate health care for the growing population of older men and women.

There are three alternatives to dealing with the problem of medical aid to the aged. One is to establish an aid program through social security. The second is for a Federal-State program under old age assistance and medical aid to the aged (Kerr-Mills). The third is for Government to do nothing under the assumption that private insurance will solve the problems.

To determine which alternative is the most appropriate, four factors must be considered: the special health problems of the aged, their income maintenance problems, the fiscal problems of the States, and the role of private health insurance.

##### SPECIAL HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE AGED

Aged people go to the hospital more often and stay longer than those at younger ages. At the same time these aged people have substantially less income to meet these increased costs.

1. In 1957, nearly 8 out of 10 noninstitutionalized aged persons, over 11 million, had one or more chronic ailments. A large part of such ailments consisted of heart trouble, arthritis, diabetes, and kidney disease.

2. While only 3 percent of the total population have limitations in mobility, 18 percent of the aged have trouble getting around alone, cannot get around alone, or are confined to the house.

3. The aged suffer mostly from long-term chronic conditions, not from short-term acute ones (to which most health insurance programs are geared). They stay in hospitals two to three times longer than the younger age groups, and use physician services more frequently. But the aged with lowest incomes use such services less often.

Many of the handicaps developed by these older people could have been prevented if the disease or injury had been treated properly from the beginning. That is, if they had had preventive health care.

Neither the Kerr-Mills approach nor private insurance emphasize preventive health care for our older citizens.

##### INCOME MAINTENANCE PROBLEMS OF THE AGED

Income is the overwhelming determinant of the ability to get needed medical care and income is inversely correlated with age. The older the person, the less his income.

1. Census Bureau data for 1959 shows that 55 percent of those over 65 had annual incomes of less than \$1,000 and 23 percent had between \$1,000 and \$2,000.

2. Of the nearly 17 million persons over 65, more than three-fifths receive social security benefits.

3. At least 7.6 million elderly persons have liquid assets of less than \$500.

4. Per capita, private expenditures for health needs for persons 65 or over in 1957-58 were a total of \$177, of which \$55 was for physicians; \$49 for hospitals; \$42 for drugs; \$10 for dentists; and \$21 for other medical costs. The 1960 costs have been estimated at \$265 per aged person.

5. For half of the OASDI couples with a hospitalized illness the total medical bills incurred amounted to over \$700, as of 1957. Some 28 percent had bills over \$1,000.

##### THE ROLE OF PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE

Voluntary group prepayment plans are not geared to the special needs of older people because their illnesses are characteristically chronic and their income is usually marginal.

1. Only 14 percent of all social security beneficiary couples had some of their medical costs covered by insurance in 1957.

2. And among hospitalized insured couples, 73 percent had zero to one-half of their medical costs met by insurance, while only 27 percent had more than one-half of their costs met by insurance.

3. As of 1958-59, only 46 percent of all aged Americans had hospital insurance, nearly all of the policies providing inadequate benefits.

4. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has projected increased coverage by all voluntary insurance plans to include 56 percent of the aged by 1965. Therefore, as of 1965, at least 8 million would not have any insurance coverage whatever.

Relieving current private health insurance programs from the burden of trying to insure the aged would contribute greatly to their stability and even expansion, and to their ability to insure the rest of the population at a more reasonable cost. The history of private pension progress, built on the floor of social security benefits, is a sound parallel.

##### THE FISCAL PROBLEMS OF THE STATES

Because of the special health needs of the aged, their income problems, and the inability of private insurance to cover adequately the high costs of medical service, either State welfare programs, Federal-State programs, or Federal programs must be utilized to aid the aged.

In terms of numbers, this is what the five Great Lakes States face:

State	Over 65 population	OAA medicare recipients	MAA eligibles
Illinois.....	974,900	74,500	( <sup>1</sup> )
Indiana.....	445,500	( <sup>1</sup> )	26,650
Michigan.....	638,200	13,365	260,000
Ohio.....	897,100	75,000	( <sup>1</sup> )
Wisconsin.....	402,700	22,400	( <sup>1</sup> )

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated.

Under the proposed social security approach, the older citizens in the five States would receive the following in medical benefit payments (based on benefits as provided

under the King-Anderson bill endorsed by President Kennedy): Illinois, \$66.8 million; Indiana, \$29.6 million; Michigan, \$51.5 million; Ohio, \$61.3 million; Wisconsin, \$24.9 million.

To provide the same amount of medical care for the same number of individuals who would receive aid through the social security approach using Kerr-Mills, the States would have to appropriate: Illinois, \$33.4 million; Indiana, \$14.8 million; Michigan, \$26.75 million; Ohio, \$30.65 million; Wisconsin, \$12.45 million.

Even if the States limit the number of eligibles under an MAA program, it will be just a matter of time until this number of eligibles soars to a much greater number of older persons in a State. This is true because as the ineligible exhaust their own resources and income in making medical payments, they will be reduced to the income level of eligibility for benefits under MAA.

Under the Kerr-Mills program (including OAA and MAA recipients), about 50 percent of the aged are ostensibly eligible in the States now with a program or proposed programs. But few States are able to afford a comprehensive program.

Therefore we urge that Congress take immediate action to pass the King-Anderson proposal, which has been endorsed by the President and which would provide needed health care on a dignified and orderly basis for our Nation's senior citizens.

### Bias in South Exaggerated, Africans Say

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article "Bias in South Exaggerated, Africans Say," which appeared in the Evening Star on Tuesday, August 22, 1961. This interview, which bears the dateline of my hometown, Greensboro, N.C., reflects the change of opinion of several African students who lived in the South during their period of studying in the United States under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration. These students found that their previously held impressions of race relations in the South were the result of misinformation and exaggeration which they attributed to some of the newspapers and news magazines published in the United States.

That these men will leave the United States with this better understanding of one of our society's most difficult problems is, in my opinion, indicative of the very great value of this sort of cultural exchange program in that it shows the gain in understanding that comes about through personal experience.

At the same time it is indeed sad that the misinformation and exaggerations are eradicated in many instances only by personal observation, and it should serve as an admonition to our press that its publications do not always reflect an accurate picture of American life to the peoples of other countries. The battle for the minds of men is being waged be-

tween the free world and the Communist bloc and in this all-important struggle the press has a tremendous responsibility to represent to the world the true image of America.

The article follows:

BIAS IN SOUTH EXAGGERATED, AFRICANS SAY  
GREENSBORO, N.C., August 22.—Bekele Garede, a young Ethiopian agricultural official, says he is convinced the South's racial troubles have been exaggerated.

Mr. Garede, who has lived in Texas and North Carolina for 5 months, says the people who exaggerated these troubles to him were not Russians, but "mostly Americans."

Mr. Garede is one of 18 Africans currently studying agricultural extension work in the United States. A number of them have lived with farm families in central and eastern North Carolina.

Mr. Garede and others of the group were interviewed by a representative of the Department of Agriculture Information, of North Carolina State College's School of Agriculture.

"When I came to the United States, a chose to go to the North," Mr. Garede said, "because of what I had read about the South."

Mr. Garede said most of the things he had read about the South had appeared in weekly news magazines and Negro newspapers published in America.

Officials of the International Cooperation Administration granted Mr. Garede his wish. They sent him to Michigan State University.

"Later, when they told me they were going to send me to Texas, I protested," Mr. Garede said. "And when I told people at Michigan States that I was going to be sent to the South, they were most sympathetic."

He said he finally agreed to go to Texas "when I found I had no alternative."

The headquarters of his Texas visit was Prairie View A. & M. College, a State-supported Negro college. In early July, he and his group moved on to North Carolina.

#### EXPERIENCE OPENS EYES

Since then, they have visited State institutions, businesses, and for about 2 weeks, various members of the group lived with farm families in Wilson, Greene, Wayne, Franklin, Vance, Warren, Granville, Durham, Rockingham, and Caswell Counties.

As a result of his extensive visit, Mr. Garede said his attitude about race relations in the South was entirely changed.

"If you don't look for embarrassing things, you won't find them," he said.

Members of Mr. Garede's party were interviewed at North Carolina A. & T. College here, where they spent several days evaluating their North Carolina study. There was general agreement with Mr. Garede's observation about racial conditions in Texas and North Carolina.

#### KENYA OFFICIAL AGREES

"You see a good deal of what you are looking for," said a Ministry of Agriculture official from Kenya.

This official, incidentally, said he tried to eat at a white restaurant in Greensboro and was refused service.

"But I didn't get upset," he said, "because I realized that in my own country a white man may have had the same trouble in many places."

"Racial problems are worldwide," he continued in a distinct British accent, result of 3 years of study at Cambridge University.

"But perhaps you in America have done more about these problems than many places in the world," he added.

#### INDIANA NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

A 36-year-old superintendent for the Ministry of Agriculture in Nigeria, Agorinda Alawode, felt that he had an objective view of America's race problems before he came to this country.

"The American Ambassador explained the situation at a lecture I attended," he said. Mr. Alawode, whose face is marked by tribal tattoos, has attended Indiana University for 9 months.

"And I don't see much difference in race relations in Indiana and other places I have been," he commented. "I could get myself into trouble any place," he added, "whether it's in America or my own country."

A Tanganyikan official, Ally Mondoma, said he remembered reading about that "Rock place" (Little Rock). "But when I got here," he added, "I saw the races were getting along in all phases of life."

One visitor said: "Any time people are indifferent to you, you are segregated. And here I found people very sympathetic."

### Anonymous Group of Six Laymen Give Reality to Ideal of Brotherhood in Charleston, W. Va.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Charleston, W. Va., has long been acknowledged by those who have lived and visited there as a community of friendly and tolerant people who are remarkably free of the religious and racial prejudices which sometimes detract from the full realization of American ideals. The mayor's commission on human relations, established almost 4 years ago, has worked effectively further to eliminate barriers to understanding between different racial and religious groups in that city.

In addition to such official and public organizations, however, there is a most unique group of private and anonymous men, known as the Six Laymen, whose sole purpose of existence is to apply in daily practice the ideals of brotherhood and good will. Organized in 1952 to honor the famous four chaplains who gave their lives in the sinking of the troop ship *Dorchester*, the Six Laymen took as their motto: "If men can die together, surely men can live together."

The work of this exceptional group is related in an article in Parade magazine, July 30, and I ask unanimous consent that this inspiring article be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Parade magazine, July 30, 1961]

CHARLESTON HAS A SECRET: THE GOOD DEEDS DONE BY SIX KIND MEN

(By Sid Ross)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—When an act of kindness is performed here, someone usually comments: "That must be the work of the Six Laymen." For, quietly and anonymously, members of this unique organization go around Charleston doing good deeds. No one knows who the laymen are, when they may appear, or what generous thing they will do next. But everyone in town knows their admirable goal: brotherhood through simple kindness.



Now in its ninth year, the group operates without officers, dues or bylaws. Only two of its activities are publicly acknowledged. One is a semiannual civic luncheon for newly naturalized U.S. citizens—usually held in a downtown hotel and attended by many of Charleston's leading citizens. Gifts are presented, speeches of welcome made, and then the proud new Americans are introduced individually to the audience. The laymen also send certificates of recognition to persons who perform selfless acts. One recent awardee was a man who had nursed a boy through sleeping sickness.

One of the town's favorite games is guessing the laymen's membership. Actually the Six Laymen now number 12, and go to great lengths to preserve their anonymity. A front man is chosen annually to arrange the luncheon, mail certificates and collect contributions, if any. Even he does not know all 12.

Anonymity has been an integral part of the organization since its beginning in 1952. Originally the group was founded by two Protestants, two Jews and two Catholics as a simple way of honoring the famous Four Chaplains—the clergymen who gave their lifejackets to four soldiers when the U.S. troopship *Dorchester* was torpedoed in 1943. The group took as their motto: "If men can die together, surely men can live together." They concluded that the route to brotherhood was through simple kindness, good acts and good will toward each other.

However, the Laymen is not a religious group. None of the members are clergymen. "Progress and understanding in getting along with each other has to come from average people," one layman says. "We do not ask for agreement, but for good will."

Acts like welcoming new citizens to the country are one way to bridge the gap between religion and religion, nation and nation and man and man, in the laymen's view. "How I wish that nations and governments could have some such philosophy of good will and understanding," one layman has sighed.

But the laymen are not out to change the world. "We don't have any great aims like that," says a Catholic member. "All we do is what we think is good—the modest, natural things that will help people, and help us in our inner selves."

### The Threat and the Hope Before Us

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WILEY. Madam President, we are living in a period in which no one knows what is around the corner. We do not know what is on the horizon. However, we should express a word of caution. We remember that there was once a man named Chamberlain, who had a great deal of blind faith in a man named Hitler. Chamberlain came from a good breed—the English. The English keep faith, and through the centuries have demonstrated that the thing that counts is the contract involving obligations on both sides. But Chamberlain was really "taken for a ride." The result was Munich and the Second World War.

Today we must guard against putting ourselves in the same position. Though our President and his advisers do not need a word of caution, should one be

given, it would be that they should bear in mind Munich. Throughout history we know that the creation of new weapons of warfare, from time to time, has threatened the existence of mankind. The invention of gunpowder, the utilization of planes for bombing, and nuclear weapons—each in its time—posed for humanity a new—and it was thought total—threat of destruction.

Currently, thermonuclear-missile war, if unleashed upon the earth, for example, could, we believe, destroy all human and animal life.

Despite such dangers, however, we must go forward on the assumption that man is not yet insane enough to destroy himself; that, though there are strong, conflicting ideologies, adequate self-control will be exercised to prevent total destruction. At the same time, we need to expand efforts to find peaceful ways to settle differences among nations.

Recently, Dr. Barnaby C. Keeney, president of Brown University, made an address, putting into historical perspective the advent of successive threats to human existence, including the problems now confronting the world. Reflecting upon the need to work for the elimination of conflict, while attempting to avoid a world-destroying war, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the address, recently published in the *Milwaukee Journal*, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THREAT AND THE HOPE BEFORE US—  
ALTHOUGH THE LAST TWO DECADES HAVE  
BEEN AS VIOLENT AS ANY IN HUMAN HISTORY,  
MORE THAN EVER BEFORE HAS BEEN  
DONE TO CREATE A PEACEFUL WORLD

(From a recent address by Dr. Barnaby C. Keeney, president of Brown University)

I remember very well an island in the middle of the Connecticut River where, my grandfather told me, the members of an apocalyptic sect had gathered to await the end in the 1870's.

Their view of the Kingdom of Heaven must have been a strange one, for they sold their land and their property and took their money with them to the island. Not far from that island, the Shakers built one of their dreary utopias.

In the days just before the Second World War, again there was a recurrence of belief in the apocalypse and also of hope for utopia. People exaggerated the potentialities of air warfare, which we now call conventional warfare, and assumed urban society would be destroyed—as indeed it almost was. On the other hand, some believed that a perfect society could be created on earth.

We are now again, in the midst of a period of fear of destruction—this time of human life—and, again, as a result of a technological change in warfare.

The development of the warhorse in ancient and medieval society created a social class which based its position on the superiority that the warhorse gave it. Gunpowder destroyed this class in early modern times. In the 20th century the airplane involved the whole population in war, and now the missile and the thermonuclear bomb have made it clear that war will be either impossible or final. All mankind knows this and, as usual, men react differently in the face of the threat.

An interesting manifestation is Nevil Shute's novel, "On the Beach." A war started accidentally and involved the great

powers accidentally, and thermonuclear devastation destroyed the armaments and cities of the northern hemisphere. Then radioactivity destroyed the population of the northern hemisphere and gradually spread south.

The book ends with the destruction by radioactive disease of the last inhabitants of southern Australia and is devoted to a description of their activities during their last months.

There is an air of hopeless resignation when nothing can be done. Some met this by debauchery; others by virtue. Some created a fantasy of the future and went about preparing for the next year as if it would occur for them.

#### A POLITICAL PARALLEL, TOO

At the end, one is faced with the irony of an earth uninhabitable at the moment, but which, through dissipation of the radiation, would become habitable in 20 years or so, but there would be no human or animal inhabitants.

This is a literary expression of one of the possibilities that lie before us. There is a political parallel, best expressed by the neutralists who would avoid participation in international affairs in the hope that, if enough nations do not become involved in the power struggle, the danger will go away.

We have a parallel to the neutralists in this country in those who advocate unilateral disarmament in what I suppose is a real belief that, if one of the great powers disarms, war will not result. And there is the corollary that it is better to take the consequences of political subjugation than to accept destruction.

When it is pointed out to the unilateral disarmists that the inevitable result of this will be the domination of the world by an authoritarian and evil society, they reply, "better Red than dead." Here, again, we have the irony that, through the excessive use of democratic freedoms and adherence to ideals, the society that permits and produces such beliefs and activities will inevitably be destroyed.

Another currently popular book, which expresses the other stream of thought, is Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World." This, of course, is a much older book and was written in fear of World War II.

Huxley was not conscious of the threat of the destruction of humanity by thermonuclear warfare, but he feared the destruction of society by conventional warfare. He speculated that, in the face of this threat, men would create a super world state, and that it would produce a Utopia which would produce international order and, by its very strength, would control every act of human life.

Life in the "Brave New World" is completely controlled even to the extent of the elimination of natural conception and birth. Children and adults are conditioned to be happy and to behave themselves. Their normal impulses are replaced by a meaningless sensualism and speculation by the recitation of slogans. All intellectual life is destroyed except the application of science.

The picture, taken as a whole, is a picture of a society that is unrecognizable as human. Here we have a metaphoric apocalypse, and Huxley makes it clear that men have as much to fear from Utopia as from Armageddon.

Again, today, there is a political manifestation of this possibility. We have in many countries a controlled society, and in all societies there is a development toward socialism and toward control of various aspects of life.

There is a difference in the controlled societies, however, for some are controlled for the benefit of the state and others for the benefit of the individual. There is advocacy of a superstate and the beginnings of international government. There is an effort toward universal disarmament and there is a



good deal of utopianism, although even the advocates of Utopia are pessimistic of its achievement.

All the ingredients exist to put us "On the Beach," all the ingredients to produce the "Brave New World." If these are the only alternatives, mankind is in a race between Armageddon and Utopia, one of which will destroy our lives and the other all that gives meaning to them.

There is another possibility, expressed by the old slogan:

"Give me liberty or give me death." It is considered corny to utter this slogan in these times, but I must confess that I myself would prefer death to the kind of society that would result either from unilateral disarmament or from a world state that was authoritarian in its control.

There is a second alternative: To work within the framework of our own society for the best use of its opportunities and to work within the less clear framework of international society for the control and eventual elimination of armaments and conflict; to provide workable means for the solution of conflicts; to provide means for cooperation between peoples and for the mutual use of one another's resources, and to do all these things with individual liberty consciously in mind and with the determination to strengthen rather than weaken individual liberty.

#### MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

It may seem foolish to utter such words as these in the face of the gloomy news we receive every day and the dreadful threat that hangs above us and which is apparent even to the most primitive peoples.

Yet, despite this threat or perhaps because of it, more has been accomplished in these last times than in all the centuries before to bring about an orderly and peaceful world, although the last two decades have been as violent as any in human history.

We have now international exchange of information through UNESCO, through international conferences and through the relatively free flow of publications. We have actually settled some international disputes without war through multilateral conference; we have not settled some others, but no general war has occurred as a result.

We are in the midst of long and painful negotiations for disarmament. We have already suspended the testing of atomic and thermonuclear weapons. Most miraculous of all, both sides have restrained themselves from the use of the ultimate weapon. So there is some accomplishment, and there is some hope.

If these efforts fail, you will be present at the apocalypse; if they succeed and produce a collective world-state, you will live in the "Brave New World." But if we are alert enough and strong enough to preserve our liberty while saving our hides, we may produce a world that is at once better and more durable, and historians a thousand years from now may wonder that we believed that these were the last times.

#### What Price Business as Usual

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JAMES C. DAVIS**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, the leftwing press and some of the Nation's political leaders are providing communism with distorted propaganda to use against us in the grave struggle to preserve democracy.

They are creating dissension at home and doubts abroad by their incessant attacks on the South, and by shedding crocodile tears for the Negro.

Those who pander to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress for Racial Equality do not acknowledge that the Negro in America is living in a paradise, that the lot of even the poorest American is far better than the fate of those who live under Communist domination.

This point was expressed in a very excellent editorial in the August issue of Southern Advertising and Publishing, a magazine that is published in Atlanta, Ga.

The editorial follows:

#### WHAT PRICE BUSINESS AS USUAL

According to news report, Dictator Khrushchev was considerably riled by President Kennedy's having the audacity to call the American people to more vigorous defense of our way of life, our world, our concepts, religious and social and economic. It is reported that after Dictator K. finished his long harangue to his people, they volunteered to work an extra hour without pay to hasten their march to catch up with America. Comes to mind at this point, the strikes that hampered our defense work at Canaveral. It's something for us to think about.

Our economic way of life—which includes our world of advertising and marketing—is so far ahead of the Communists' that we give them a big target. However, the day is long past when we can continue to play peanut politics when the balanced meals of modern civilization are at stake. It is full time that we got off the defensive and stated the full American way of life to the world. Our propagandists, instead of trying to cram racial equality down the throats of the white South, should tell the world in true and full terms that the colored races in America are living in paradise compared to the lot of those in the Communist world.

The facts are there—why keep the South under blackmail pressure by the outside press?—as pointed out by no less a respected figure than Herbert Hoover sometime ago when he said "that the Negroes in the United States own more automobiles than all the Negroes of Africa plus the entire population of Russia." Does our State Department, or our Office of Information, ever point that out? Does anyone in authority nationally ever point to the good things the Negroes in America enjoy? Why is this? Is it more fun to send "freedom riders" to antagonize the white South than to face the outside world that is being stirred up by the Communists in the first place?

And imagine the NAACP protesting against the Civil War Centennial on grounds that it is getting too favorable an image for the South. When are our politicians and editors going to realize that we are all part of the Nation and to sick the NAACP on the South is to aid and abet the Communists? Or are we as stupid as Dictator K. and his stooge Dictator Castro paint us?—G. B. P.

#### The Peace Corps

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. PROXMIRE. Madam President, the Administrative Committee of the

Democratic Party of Wisconsin recently adopted a resolution supporting President Kennedy's Peace Corps. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED ON AUGUST 12, 1961, BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN SUPPORTING PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S PEACE CORPS

Whereas President John F. Kennedy has strongly urged the establishment of a permanent Peace Corps to the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas our own freedom, and the future of freedom in the world, depend on the ability of underdeveloped and newly developed nations to build a stable society where men can live in dignity; and

Whereas one of the greatest obstacles to the achievement of this goal by these nations is the lack of trained men and women with the skill to teach the young and assist in the operation of development projects; and

Whereas the Peace Corps represents an opportunity for skilled American citizens to work directly with people of other countries to provide economic, social, and educational assistance and to further the cause of peace through personal relationships and mutual understanding: Now let it hereby be

Resolved, That the Administrative Committee of the Democratic Party of the State of Wisconsin strongly support the formation of a permanent Peace Corps; and let it be further

Resolved, That Senator PROXMIRE and Wisconsin Congressmen ZABLOCKI, JOHNSON, REUSS, and KASTENMEIER be urged to support and take a leading role in securing congressional approval of President Kennedy's Peace Corps.

#### Memories of the Critical Fuel Oil Crisis in World War II Should Serve as a Grim Reminder That the Distressing Situation Is Certain To Be Repeated in the Event of Another National Emergency

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert the following paragraph from a newspaper story:

The Manufacturer's Building at 7 Beverly Street, which houses 30 small firms, many engaged in war work, will be closed today for lack of fuel oil, Miss Anna Bowman, superintendent, said yesterday.

For anyone who is not familiar with the critical fuel oil shortage that enveloped New England during World War II, I invite him to request the Library of Congress to provide copies of newspapers from Boston, Providence, New York, or other areas along the upper east coast for 1942 and/or the early months of 1943. He would find many items akin to that which I have just read from a February 1, 1943, edition. Here are just a few headlines:

"Lack of Oil Shuts Down Many Mills: War Work Halted as Thousands Lose Their Jobs," February 3, 1943.



"Hospital Is Ordered Closed by City To Save on Fuel Oil: Patients at Neponset Beach Institution for Children at Rockaway To Be Moved Today," January 4, 1943.

"End of Many Activities Held Imminent Under Cut in Oil: Churches, Schools, and Theaters Face Closing Unless Coal Users—Officials Expect No Early Relief," January 7, 1943.

"Bunker C Imports Into Rhode Island Short by 14,000 Barrels Daily," February 26, 1943.

"Exodus of Labor Threatens Mills in Fuel Oil Crisis"—February 5, 1943.

Those are but a few of the headlines that you will see if you ask for the early 1943 issues. Go back a year, from the time that our tanker traffic from the Gulf of Mexico to the east coast first began to fall prey to enemy submarines and you will realize that the long fuel oil deficit was inevitable. You would not have to be many yards east of the beaches to read those headlines at night by the lights of the tragic fires that flamed into the skies as ship after ship exploded. Here is a May 27, 1942, headline:

"New England Told Not To Expect Oil: Ickes Says Worse Situation Is Coming and Asks Conversion to Using Coal."

June 5, 1942: "Hardship for Fuel Oil Users Protected by Fuel Industry Council."

Incidentally, the Council referred to was the Petroleum Industry War Council, and I dare say that anyone who advocates free access to American markets for foreign oil might do himself and his country a favor if he would review some of the Council's records for the World War II period. Better yet, place the front pages of this week's newspapers alongside those of 18 and 19 years ago, and then ask yourself this question: In view of the current crisis over Berlin, can a single American plant, factory, or generating station that would contribute in any way to a war effort be permitted to rely on a foreign source of energy?

The matter of the American coal industry's interest in restricting imports of residual oil has been in discussion for at least 12 years. I appealed to Congress as far back as 1950 to enact a quota restriction as a medium of protecting the jobs of our miners and railroaders. My friends from New England have made similar appeals on behalf of textile workers, fishermen, and miscellaneous other labor groups whose unemployment is directly attributable to excesses of imports.

It would be difficult for any human being to visit an area of chronic surplus labor and refrain from attacking the major causative of this condition. There is no question about why so many of our mines are closed, why so many of our railroad cars are idle on sidings. Many markets that once provided outlets for coal supply have simply turned their backs to our coal producers and opened the doors of their boilerrooms to tanker-borne fuel. The price differential is usually not pronounced, but it is always used as a lure. When a shipper of foreign oil agrees to sell his product at whatever level is necessary to get below the cost of coal, the con-

sumer does not have to rely upon his calculating machine—whether it be Remington Rand, Olympia, or Olivetti—to determine which fuel is cheaper.

Eventually, of course, the company which chooses foreign oil is going to find that it has not taken the more economical course. When there are enough plants unable to convert back to coal, and when enough railroad tracks into others have been abandoned, the international oil crowd will be able to charge what it pleases. Historically, it is the practice of a monopoly to destroy competition and then boost prices at will.

These entreaties from the standpoint of the economy of coal regions have gone unanswered. Perhaps next year, when the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act expires, some consideration will be demonstrated toward this problem, for it is evident that a growing number of industries and areas are suffering progressively more as a consequence of the Nation's illogical trade policy.

Of late my colleagues from Massachusetts have presented in the RECORD a large number of editorials on residual oil imports. It is my intention to attempt some measure of reciprocity by providing, from time to time, relevant material from earlier editions of newspapers from that section of the country. In deference to my friends who do not remember developments on the fuel front in the early war years, I shall request that complete news stories, rather than mere headlines such as I have inserted today, be included in the RECORD. Perhaps my friends from New England will wish to discuss further those dark days of 1942-43 as this material appears in the RECORD. I shall welcome their expressions.

Meanwhile the country must depend upon the mandatory oil import program for protecting domestic fuel industries from the destructive effects of unfair competition from foreign oil. The program is obviously far from satisfactory. Last year's record high volume of 230 million barrels of residual oil will easily be surpassed in 1961 unless the current crisis jolts the Department of Interior into reducing substantially the quota allocations. As of August 4, imports for this year were running at almost 6 million tons higher than for the equivalent period in 1960.

If the Secretary of Interior would take note of the headlines which I have presented here today, then check with the White House or Department of Defense on the world crisis, it is inconceivable that he will not order an immediate adjustment in allocations. Somewhere along the line communications between the departments have apparently broken down. On the one hand the President soberly warns the Nation of the gravity of Khrushchev's threats. Congress is asked to provide astronomical increases in the defense budget. The draft pace is quickened. National Guardsmen are alerted. Civil defense alarms scream for shelters to guard civilians against fallout.

On the other hand, the Department of Interior goes blithely along its peace-

ful way, the Secretary so inspired with the beauty and magnificence of parks and monuments and rivers and dams and public power that he is unable to grasp the somber significance of barbed wire and armor that have encompassed Berlin and cast grim shadows over the entire world. Having arbitrarily increased residual oil imports by 100,000 barrels a day shortly after he took office, then in May having recklessly ordered an increase of another 44,000 barrels a day for the following 12 months, the Secretary has exhibited no signs of attempting to get in step with other Cabinet members who foresee the need for mobilization preparations.

I would suggest that the Secretary of Interior make a study of the problems that confronted his predecessor in 1942 and 1943. I would remind him that the tankers which now lie at the ocean floor off the beaches from Miami to Cape Hatteras to Atlantic City and points beyond were in coastwise traffic and not exposed to the added dangers to which ships from Venezuela and the Middle East would be subjected.

If we are ready to call the Kremlin's hand, it is folly to invite an energy gap by relying upon a foreign source of fuel for a war production effort. There can be no further delay in determining which industries necessary to the national defense now using foreign oil would be forced to terminate operations in the event that ocean traffic is disrupted. This information should be obtained as quickly as possible and oil import quotas be revised accordingly.

### Congressional Reapportionment Proposals in Pennsylvania

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a résumé of editorial opinion on congressional reapportionment proposals in Pennsylvania, contained in an article entitled "Reapportionment—A Long Way Off," written by Bern Sharfman and published in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, of August 15, 1961.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA EDITORS AGREE: REAPPORTIONMENT—A LONG WAY OFF  
(By Bern Sharfman)

Pennsylvania newspaper editors have looked at the Democratic program for reapportioning the Commonwealth's congressional seats and have found it sadly wanting.

An extensive sampling of newspaper opinion throughout the State shows reactions ranging from "arrant gerrymandering" to "political fumble."

Core of the resentment centers about Philadelphia Representative WILLIAM GREEN, a big Democratic power in Pennsylvania, and



his scheme to keep six seats for Philadelphia by chipping pieces off neighboring Republican counties and adding them to the City of Brotherly Love. Philadelphia's population losses warrant the elimination of one of its current seats.

But there's equal feeling around the State that the entire Democratic plan generally favors Democrats and shifts districts so that rural, suburban, and urban interests are all mixed up.

Here's what the editors are saying:

"The overall arrangement would guarantee that while Pennsylvania loses three seats in the House of Representatives, as ordained by this State's relative lack of growth in the past decade, none of the loss will come out of Philadelphia," says the Philadelphia Bulletin. "To call such an arrangement unfair is understatement. It is political larceny, deserving of all-out resistance from citizens of any party who believe that Congress ought to be a representative body."

Referring to the proposal as a "Green-mander" and "pure politics," the Pittsburgh Press suggests an oft-repeated way out of a "nightmare at-large election."

"Before things get too far out of hand, why don't the Representatives of both parties sit down and work out an apportionment to which both can agree?" this editor asks. "It would be too much to expect that they would draft a plan devoid of politics and based solely on the public's right to fair apportionment. But even a political compromise would be preferable to the one-sided proposals thus far advanced."

The Sunbury Daily Item attacks "crafty WILLIE GREEN for trying to 'preserve his home base' and extend his power. It says: 'The possibility that GREEN is playing a deliberate game of frustration to block reapportionment merits serious consideration. Failure to redistrict the State would mean that in 1962 Pennsylvania would elect 27 Congressmen at Large. In other words, it would thus be possible for BOSS GREEN to personally select the majority, if not all of the Members of the House delegation. In short, the people of Pennsylvania would be at the mercy of GREEN in national affairs, even as they now are in matters of State government.'

"What the Democratic Party offered to the State . . . was a holdup, pure and simple," the Altoona Mirror says. "So as of now, there's no agreement on reapportionment, only arguments. The item will remain as an excuse to keep the legislature in session the rest of the year."

The New Castle News observes that Philadelphia always has held itself apart from the rest of the State, as Pennsylvania's only first-class city, and adds: "Philadelphia is entitled to its proportionate share of Congressmen but certainly no more. The endeavor to grab off chunks of Bucks and Delaware in order to make a case for Philadelphia is gerrymandering in its most glaring form. If GREEN would agree to what is obviously fair, drop one Congressman from his delegation of six, a compromise could undoubtedly be worked out."

To the Bethlehem Globe-Times it is "another political rocket" in GREEN's "thinly veiled plan to entrench his party in Harrisburg—for many years to come." The paper applauds State Senator Fred B. Rooney, Bethlehem Democrat, for his suggestion that both parties sit down and work out "a just and equitable" plan, an approach the editor believes "has the wholehearted support of thinking citizens throughout the Commonwealth."

The Sayre Evening Times notes: "An additional measure of unfairness is injected into the plan by the fact that every one of Philadelphia's six districts will be smaller than the statewide average—and one of them will be the smallest in the entire

State. It was, of course, to be expected that the Democratic program would be drafted to further its own fortunes; any party will seek to do that. But the plan is so blatant a case of gerrymandering that it cannot but come as a shock."

"It is a blueprint to deprive the central Pennsylvania counties of effective representation in the National House of Representatives for years to come," comments the Lock Haven Express. As long as the State is divided into counties, county units should make up the congressional district, even if it throws off the mathematical uniformity of the districts. Although county lines may not always represent the exact division of interests and needs of the people, they have existed so long that a practical accommodation has been made. This is not redistricting; it is political mayhem."

For the Oil City Derrick, the plan is "high-handed political chicanery."

"It would almost certainly reduce the number of Republican Congressmen chosen by the people of their districts by realignment of the areas to serve political ends," this editor explains. All in all, the Democratic blueprint is a sham. It aims at further strengthening a scandal-ridden big city machine at the expense of the rights and privileges of other areas of the Commonwealth. It should be clobbered, not only in the legislature, but by all citizens who believe in a fair and just congressional representation."

The Allentown Chronicle calls it a "special form of job insurance" and adds: "In order to keep congressional districts in some semblance of population balance, it might be necessary to divide some counties . . . but when this is done, it should be on the basis of trying to bring together counties and parts of counties with common interests. The fact there is some strong Democratic opposition to GREEN's plan shows how unpalatable it really is. It makes the issue not so much one of reapportioning the State as one of who is to dictate the terms."

"It serves urban concentrations at the expense of rural Pennsylvania and in this respect is grossly unfair to the broad interests of the Commonwealth," says the Williamsport Sun-Gazette. "While we know the proposal as outlined by Democratic Majority Leader Stephan McCann is not yet in its final form, we are nevertheless alarmed by this disclosure of the Lawrence administration intent."

The Washington Observer believes the plan eventually may boomerang on Democrats, causing voters to rebel, and observes: "It tends to destroy the real democratic processes of government by reducing the power of the minority party, perhaps toward a point of elimination. There may be a real question as to whether that is the real intent of the Constitution and the law."

A plan for redistricting counties around Philadelphia to keep people of similar interests together is outlined by the Somerset Daily American, which then offers this challenge: "We wonder how Representative GREEN would react to such a proposal? His response would determine whether he is interested in representation of the people or whether it is his desire to hold six seats in Philadelphia which causes him to defend the Democratic plan."

"The proposal studiously separated and merged districts so as to strengthen Democratic congressional districts, considering the State as a political whole," charges the Easton Express. "With the State senate balanced on a 25-25 party representation basis, and partisan considerations wholly governing this issue, Republicans are in a position to demand concessions."

The Warren Times-Mirror sums it up this way: "The Democratic plan for reapportionment in the State of Pennsylvania was unveiled with a fanfare of political trum-

pets . . . and promptly fell flat on its face. We suggest the Democrats take their 3-minute egg back to the nest and hatch it a while longer. This one didn't come out too good."

"It is too much to suppose that these leaders (of both parties) would give the rights of the people even the ghost of a thought were they to sit down to carve the State into new districts," says the Valley Daily News. But the paper believes they have an obligation to avoid an at-large election. It sees "nothing fair and honest" about the Democratic plan.

Some State papers took a broader view and concentrated on the inadequacy of the programs advanced by both parties.

"No one is happy," claims The Latrobe Bulletin. "It is naive and fatuous to think that there isn't any political maneuvering in back of both the Democratic and Republican plans. Each is trying, with its own plan, to strengthen its political lot. The leaders of both parties must sit down at the conference table and forge a plan which will be acceptable to the majority of members of both parties. This appears to be an almost hopeless development, but it can be done if there is a determination to give and take a little."

The Lancaster New Era says the Republican plan "had no chance of acceptance" and the Democratic plan "is ridiculous." It adds: "Maybe now is a good time for the legislature to adjourn. Both sides could go home and then sit down together later and work out a reasonable plan for redistricting."

That view is echoed by The Scranton Times, which claims the Democratic plan has "as little chance of being approved as the previously announced Republican plan and for the very same reason—they change the status quo."

This editor adds: "It is to be expected that the two parties will battle to the utmost to protect their respective interests in the re-vamping of the State's congressional districts, but politics may have to be set aside if an agreement is to be reached in time to prevent the election of Pennsylvania's congressional delegation on a statewide basis."

"Neither fully meets the need for fair and equitable representation," the Meadville Tribune notes. "Each party's plan is unacceptable to the other and, since close partisan division in the legislature probably would obstruct adoption of either one, a compromise clearly is necessary. The fairest compromise also would be the simplest—division of the Commonwealth into 27 districts as nearly equal in population as possible."

The Greensburg Tribune-Review takes a dim view: "At the moment we cannot see much basis for compromise between the two programs. And if no such compromise can be reached in the legislative term, then the entire congressional election would be forced into a statewide race for each candidate of each party . . . a Pandora's box if there ever was one."

"The Democratic reapportionment plan will not please the Republicans any more than the earlier Republican plan pleased the Democrats," notes the Chambersburg Public Opinion. "This is to be expected. One of the difficulties presented by reapportionment is that what makes sense geographically often does not make sense politically."

The Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal feels neither party will risk the chaos of an at-large election, then reminds us of another redistricting headache:

"Despite a constitutional requirement for such action, the (State) senate has not been redistricted since 1922, when minor changes were made. The house was redistricted in 1953, but the changes were minor. There is unfortunately no urgency about the State assembly reapportionment. The State's constitution says it should be done, but so long



as it isn't, the election of the State's legislators continues on the same basis as present. Leaders of the assembly have been attempting to show that this session of the legislature has been one of accomplishment. They would go a long way to proving such an assertion by hammering out just and fair reapportionments not only for Congress but for the State assembly, before adjournment."

### Brig. Gen. Barnard E. Bee

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following tribute to Confederate Gen. Barnard E. Bee, of Pendleton, S.C., by Union Maj. Gen. William Farrar Smith, of Vermont, is one of the most moving in all of the annals of war.

This article by George Kennedy appeared in the Washington Evening Star, Sunday, July 16:

LETTER REVEALS TRIBUTE TO BEE BY UNION GENERAL

(By George Kennedy)

Among the wealth of interesting letters, dairies and personal memoirs which the Civil War Centennial has brought to light, is a moving tribute paid by a Union general to his classmate and friend, a Confederate general, who fell in the first major battle.

Ours was a small army in the 1840's and 1850's. The officer corps was, for the most part, from a small school, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. All the cadets knew each other. Friendships were often strengthened by the intimacy of subsequent service in our frontier posts.

The Confederate was Brig. Gen. Barnard E. Bee, of South Carolina. In the first battle of Bull Run, 100 years ago this Friday, General Bee rallied his men by shouting:

"Look at Jackson, standing there like a stone wall."

The accolade stuck.

General Bee then led his men in an advance that helped upset the Union plan of battle. He was mortally wounded.

After the war Maj. Gen. William Farrar Smith, of Vermont, a fellow member of the class of 1845, wrote this hitherto unpublished tribute to his friend, uncovered recently and scheduled to be presented, along with other Smith papers, to the Library of Congress:

"The recollections of the intimate friendships which I formed in my military life, now that most all of my contemporaries have gone to the other world, are as dear to me as when they were in active existence. Of some of these I must speak individually.

The first and dearest one of my life was a classmate of mine, Barnard E. Bee, of South Carolina. Between us, from our life at West Point to the day of his death, there was ever a perfect confidence and faith in every question that ever rose, up to the breaking out of the Civil War.

There was never any hesitation on the part of either as to supporting the other without asking as to the merits of the cause. He was a noted man among all his associates; possessed of the finest moral and physical courage of any man with whom I was ever thrown."

#### CAPTURED DESPERADO

"He belonged to the 3d Infantry of the U.S. Army, which was stationed in San

Antonio, Tex., 1848, where I, a young engineer officer, was on duty with the headquarters of the army stationed there.

"A noted desperado named Glanton, had wantonly killed a soldier of the 3d Infantry and the civil authorities of the town were afraid to arrest Glanton for murder. Bee went to the sheriff and told him that if he would make him a deputy that he would make the arrest and bring the prisoner before him.

"The sheriff acceded to his request, and he went and unarmed, by his exhibition of moral power took Glanton and delivered him up to the sheriff. The man was tried, and of course, by jury convened in those days was acquitted. This, however, did not detract from the merit of the act of Bee."

#### FOUGHT AT BULL RUN

"Shortly before the Civil War broke out Bee, who was stationed in Utah, wrote a letter to me in which he stated that a civil war was being brought on by the politicians on both sides, that they were looking forward to the help of the graduates of West Point to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, that in the question we had no interest, that we should both leave the service and go to Texas where his brother had a million [of] acres of land, from which we could select a large cattle ranch, and as we were both accustomed to roughing it we could manage to earn a living."

"To this I replied 'that when the separation came he would be obliged to go with his friends and relatives, and that I must stick by the flag.'

"He had served during the Mexican War with his regiment, then second to none in the army, and had won high praise from his brother officers for his gallantry in battle. I, who knew him so well, felt that with his qualities he would make a most distinguished adherent to the Southern cause, and the most dangerous adversary to ours.

"When the time came he resigned his commission and went to South Carolina and appeared at the Battle of Bull Run a brigadier general in command of a brigade.

"(I have forgotten to state that his reputation was so well established that when the Regular Army was increased by the addition of the [sic] regiments of Infantry, he was given a captaincy in one of these new regiments.)

"As I had expected, his action at the first Battle of Bull Run, by ordering at a crisis a charge of the brigade, changed the fate of the day and brought upon us a serious defeat.

"When the details of the battle came to me at Brattleboro, in Vermont, where I was on sick leave, I recollect that on seeing the notice of his having been killed in this charge, while the tears ran down my cheeks for his loss, I was glad in my heart that so complete a soldier had been taken from the list of our enemies. I never knew a nobler man."

### The Issue at the Metropolitan Opera

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JACOB K. JAVITS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the concern which has been aroused throughout the country over the announced cancellation of the 1961-62 season of the Metropolitan Opera Association is based in large part on a growing realiza-

tion of the grave financial crises faced by the musical performing arts throughout the country. Costs are rising at a rate too rapid even for private foundations and philanthropists to match, and the resultant financial squeeze threatens the life not only of the Metropolitan Opera, but of the Nation's symphony orchestras and ballets as well. Legislation such as my proposal for a U.S. Arts Foundation is urgently needed to provide the backing which will enable these major institutions of our national cultural development to continue and to flourish.

An article entitled "Musicmakers Sing the Blues Over Money," offers some facts and figures that demonstrate the extent of the crisis. I ask unanimous consent that this article which appears in *Business Week*, August 19, be printed in the RECORD with my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**MUSICMAKERS SING THE BLUES OVER MONEY—LABOR DISPUTE AT METROPOLITAN OPERA UNDERSCORES FINANCIAL PLIGHT OF LONG-HAIR MUSICIANS AND THE ORCHESTRAS THEY WORK FOR: SPECIAL SUBSIDIES MAY BE AN ANSWER TO DILEMMA**

A few days ago, Herman D. Kenin, president of the American Federation of Musicians, said regretfully that "the musical performing arts can't survive in today's marketplace."

The warning was given before AFM's contract talks with the Metropolitan Opera Association in New York had developed into the most serious crisis the Met has faced in recent years. Early this week, that crisis still threatened the Met's 1961-62 season, despite negotiations seeking to salvage it (*Business Week*, Aug. 12, 1961, p. 86).

The Metropolitan's labor troubles sharply focused attention on the plight of serious music in this country—and on the plight of the serious musicians, employed by opera companies, ballets, and symphonies (picture).

#### MONEY PROBLEMS

The musical organizations have serious money problems. The musicians, too, contend that they are facing financial troubles. They are caught in "an intolerable bread-and-butter squeeze" largely because of underemployment. Most say they work regularly for less than half of each year.

The problems on both sides are the basis of a running conflict between unions demanding more money and enlarged benefits, and sponsors of serious music who are trying desperately to hold down deficits.

AFM argues that this unhappy situation means, inevitably, that there must be public assistance for the arts, through subsidies. Whether they like the idea or not, many sponsors of musical arts are coming to a similar conclusion.

#### ORCHESTRA DEFICITS

Few opera companies, ballets, orchestras, or other organizations that provide serious music can break even for a season. They wind up their programs in the red (the Met last season was \$840,000 in the hole) and have to worry about raising money.

This is harder to do each year. Wealthy patrons can't be counted on to write generous checks to balance the books, as they once did. Deaths and taxes have taken big tolls in their ranks. Public solicitations haven't worked. Industrial donors and foundations haven't helped enough.

According to one survey, only about eight major symphonies are sponsored by foundations, corporations, or philanthropists. The



others must survive pretty much hand to mouth.

#### MUSICIANS' NEEDS

The musicians' AFM recognizes that union demands for more money and greater pension and hospitalization benefits create serious problems for those who must find the necessary financing for musical organizations. But the union says that many musicians who are tops in their profession make less today than a truck driver or industrial worker does each year.

The AFM wants "a complete reappraisal of the serious musician's position and status as an artist and of his financial prospects in today's economy."

The labor dispute at the Met involved this demand. AFM is asking big enough weekly salaries during short seasons to give musicians a substantially higher annual income.

Backers of major symphonies in several cities said last week that similar demands for exorbitant wage increases could kill serious music in their cities. They aren't accepting—yet—AFM's implicit proposals that sponsors of serious music join the union in seeking Government subsidies as the way out of the financial squeeze.

#### AFM SURVEY

During the Metropolitan Opera negotiations last week, a union spokesman complained that criticism of AFM's demands overlooks these points:

Met musicians had an annual income last year of \$7,600 from opera work—including their payments on opera records. Striking concrete drivers in New York City can expect more than that, over 12 months, at an offered (and so far rejected) new rate of \$3.75 an hour.

Most serious musicians employed by the Met or other organizations actually are paid for seasons of only 27 weeks or less, from late fall through early spring. The union contends they are seasonal workers with not much hope of off-season work in the field of serious music outside New York, Boston, and perhaps one or two other cities.

The musicians do not qualify for most of the basic welfare program benefits included in labor agreements covering industrial workers who make more money per year.

AFM cited a recent union-made survey to back its arguments.

#### WHAT THEY EARN

AFM checked musicians employed by 26 major symphonies, which employ some 2,300 artists. It eliminated 150 "secondary orchestras" that give only a few concerts a year an employ musicians on a per concert basis, and others that pay on a weekly basis for seasons shorter than 20 weeks a year.

According to the survey, some 500 musicians in the "big five" orchestra cities—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland—averaged \$167 a week in the 1960-61 season. The other 1,800 in the major orchestra group averaged \$98.20. The overall average of the 2,300 was \$117 a week.

Only nine of the orchestras offered regular season employment for 30 weeks or more. The New York Philharmonic paid for the longest season, 38 weeks; seasons of 17 of the group ranged from 20 to 28 weeks.

Eleven of the twenty-six supplemented regular seasons with summer programs averaging about 7½ weeks, but with reduced pay and fewer musicians.

AFM said the musicians in only 12 of the 26 major symphonies are eligible for unemployment insurance in off-seasons. Only 4 of the 26 provided hospitalization during the 1960-61 season. Only 10 had pensions.

According to AFM, the 2,300 musicians in the 26 top orchestras averaged less than \$4,000 from their regular employment during the year—including "a generous approximation for summer season employment and postseason tours."

#### FEWER FINDING JOBS

According to Kenin, fewer musicians every year are able to earn their bread solely by musical performances or teaching. Livelihood through musical talents is becoming increasingly precarious, he says, because "canned" music (sound on films, long-playing records, and now tapes) has cut deeply into live music opportunities.

AFM reports show only 35 of 537 local radio and television stations outside New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles (network centers) employed musicians in 1960. The motion picture industry employed 303 on a yearly contract basis in 1957, last year for which AFM has figures, and "perhaps 1,000" on casual, sporadic schedules.

Other performing opportunities are dropping, too. Fewer musicians are getting wedding, ball, and other engagements, once common in high society and lucrative for serious musicians.

#### PART-TIME WORKERS

Nevertheless, the union survey found that 70 percent of the orchestra members by scrounging still are able to rely on musical activities for their entire livelihood. Of those responding, 23 percent said they were able to supplement their income sufficiently by performances in addition to their regular symphony engagements, while 47 percent said they made ends meet by teaching and other work related to music.

The remaining 30 percent, mostly outside the big five cities, said they supplemented their income through part-time nonmusical work.

They listed some 100 different nonmusical jobs—including work as aerial surveyors, gardeners and park guides, language teachers (a popular sideline), mental hospital therapists, bus and taxi drivers, a racetrack parimutuel official, a liquor store manager, and, Kenin reported, one who confessed to the mysterious vocation of bottle selector.

#### TOO BLACK A PICTURE

Employers of long-hair musicians say the union is painting too black a picture. They agree that seasonal earnings of orchestra members from opera, ballet, or symphony work may average what the union says it does. But they contend that most musicians do a lot better than AFM says they do.

But, most of all, they say that even if the picture AFM paints is really a true one, there is little the orchestras can do to improve conditions as things stand today, there isn't the money for bigger music budgets.

AFM spokesmen deny that pressures on the Met are part of a campaign for the bill—but one conceded this fuss might help everybody.

### Summary of Various Benefits to Which Members Who Are Involuntarily Ordered to Active Duty With the Armed Forces Will Be Entitled

#### SPEECH OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, after the enactment of August 1, 1961, of Public Law 87-117, a request was made to the Department of Defense for a summary of the various benefits to which members who are involuntarily ordered

to active duty with the Armed Forces under that act will be entitled.

The information in the following letter from Mr. Frank A. Bartimo, Assistant General Counsel of the Department of Defense, together with the summary of benefits, should prove interesting and informative in view of the thousands to be affected by Public Law 87-117.

The letter and summary follows:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,  
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL,  
Washington, D.C., August 17, 1961.

Hon. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. VAN ZANDT: This is in reply to your request of August 12 for a summary of the various benefits to which members who are involuntarily ordered to active duty under the act of August 1, 1961, Public Law 87-117 (75 Stat. 242), will be entitled.

Members ordered to active duty under the act of August 1, 1961, will be entitled to the same benefits as other members serving on active duty. The benefits referred to here include basic pay, allowances, leave, commissary and post-exchange privileges, transportation for himself and his dependents and his household goods and effects, medical care, specialized training in various fields, career opportunities, promotion, extensive travel at Government expense both here in this country and abroad, the chance to meet far more individuals than normally encountered in civilian life, guarantee of premiums on commercial life insurance not exceeding \$10,000 in any individual case and 6 months death gratuity.

In some instances, the extent of the benefit may depend on the period for which the member is ordered to active duty; for example, a member who is ordered to active duty for 30 days or less would not be entitled to medical care for his dependents. However, his dependents would be entitled to medical care if he is ordered to active duty for more than 30 days—10 U.S.C. 1076. Similarly, a member who is ordered to active duty for 30 days or less is entitled to physical disability benefits (severance pay or retirement, depending on the circumstances) if he incurs a disability resulting from an injury—10 U.S.C. 1204, 1206. On the other hand, a member who is ordered to active duty for more than 30 days is entitled to physical disability benefits if he incurs a disability resulting from an injury or disease—10 U.S.C. 1201, 1203.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 501 et seq.), affords a different type of benefit in that it relieves members of the military service from worry over their inability to meet their civil obligations by temporarily suspending enforcement of certain of their civil liabilities if their ability to meet their obligations has been impaired by reason of their military service. The act does not free a serviceman from his obligations or impose any automatic moratorium thereon. It does, however, contain provisions designed to afford protection to those in military service with regard, among other things, to debts, leases, evictions, interest rates, income taxes, personal property taxes, real estate taxes, installment purchases, conditional sales, repossessions, foreclosures, mortgages, suits, judgments, attachments, executions, garnishments, penalties, and statutes of limitations. Protection is also provided under certain circumstances and in certain cases for dependents, sureties, endorsers, and persons jointly obligated with servicemen.

With respect to the extensive benefits to which a member may be entitled upon his release from active duty, or as an incident of that release, I am enclosing a comprehensive chart, listing those benefits, that was



prepared by the Military Affairs Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Army. This chart will serve to identify the various benefits to which members may be entitled depending, of course, on the circumstances of their particular cases.

In summary, there are many and varying benefits, both present and prospective, for the young men who will soon enter the Armed Forces. But perhaps even more important than these practical considerations

is the fact that military service can be a rich and rewarding experience generally for the individual who will make it such.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK A. BARTIMO,  
Assistant General Counsel (Manpower).

*Incidents of discharge*

	Honorable	General	Undesirable <sup>1</sup>	Discharge <sup>2</sup> (under other than honor- able condi- tions)	Bad-conduct discharge		Dishonorable	Resignation for the good of the service AR 635-89 (officers), homosexual- ity in lieu of courts-martial	Authorization for benefit
Authority for discharge.....	AR 635-200 (e.m.), AR 635-5 (officers)	AR 635-200 (e.m.), AR 635-5 (officers)	AR 635-200 (e.m.)	AR 635-5 (officers)	Sentence of a special court- martial	Sentence of a general court- martial	Sentence of a general court- martial	AR 635-120 (officers) AR 635-5 (officers)	
Conditions under which issued.	Convenience of the Government; expira- tion of enlistment; minority; resignation; dependency or hardship; disability; revocation or termina- tion of appointment; discharge to accept ap- pointment	Convenience of the Government; dis- ability, dis- loyal or subversive; expiration of enlist- ment; minority; resignation, unsuitabil- ity; homo- sexuality	Miscon- duct; homo- sexuality; qualified resignation, unfitness; disloyal and subversive; a.w.o.l. or desertion	Conviction of felony by civil author- ities; secur- ity viola- tion			(Dismissal by sentence of general court- martial is equivalent to dishonor- able dis- charge)	the provi- sions of AR 635-5 apply to all officers of the Army; AR 140-175 provide that Reserve officers being sep- arated will be fur- nished dis- charge cer- tificates in accordance with AR 635-5)	
<b>BENEFITS ADMINISTERED BY THE ARMY<sup>3</sup></b>									
Death gratuity.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	10 U.S.C. 1475 et seq.
Headstone marker.....	do.....	do.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	Sec. 1, act of July 1, 1948 (62 Stat. 1215), as amend- ed (24 U.S.C. 270a).
Mustering-out payments.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 2101 et seq.
Payment for accrued leave.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	Armed Forces Leave Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 963), as amended (37 U.S.C. 32 et seq.).
Retirement pay for non- Regular service.....	do.....	do.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	10 U.S.C. 1331 et seq.
Transportation allowance for dependents and ship- ment of household goods.....	do.....	do.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Pars. 7011-5, 8009-4, Joint Travel Regulations.
Transportation in kind.....	do.....	do.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Par. 5300 et seq., Joint Travel Regulations.
Burial in national cemetery.....	do.....	do.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Not eligible.....	Sec. 1, act of May 14, 1948 (62 Stat. 234; 24 U.S.C. 281).
Use of wartime title; wear of uniform of wartime grade when authorized by Presidential regula- tions.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	10 U.S.C. 772(e).
Admission to Soldiers' Home. <sup>5</sup>									
<b>BENEFITS ADMINISTERED BY THE VETERANS' ADMINIS- TRATION<sup>6</sup></b>									
Dependency and indemnity compensation.....	do.....	do.....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 410 et seq.
Pension for service-con- nected disability.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 301 et seq.
Pension for non-service- connected disability.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 501 et seq.
Vocational rehabilitation.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 1501 et seq.
Education and training.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.
Loans.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 1801 et seq.
Unemployment compensa- tion.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 2001 et seq.
Special housing.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 801 et seq.
Hospitalization.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 601 et seq.
Domiciliary care.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 601 et seq.
Out-patient medical treat- ment.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 601 et seq.
Out-patient dental treat- ment.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 601 et seq.
Prosthetic appliances.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 613.
Seeing-eye dogs and me- chanical electronic equip- ment.....	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 614.
Automobiles.....	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 1901 et seq.
Compensation for service- connected death.....	Eligible.....	Eligible.....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	Eligible <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 1301 et seq.
Compensation for non-ser- vice-connected death.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 501 et seq.
Burial expenses.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 902 et seq.
Burial flags.....	do.....	do.....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do. <sup>4</sup> .....	do.....	do.....	do.....	38 U.S.C. 901.

Footnotes at end of table.



## Incidents of discharge—Continued

	Honorable	General	Undesirable <sup>1</sup>	Discharge <sup>2</sup> (under other than honorable conditions)	Bad-conduct discharge		Dishonorable	Resignation for the good of the service AR 635-89 (officers), homosexuality in lieu of courts-martial	Authorization for benefit
Authority for discharge	AR 635-200 (e.m.), AR 635-5 (officers)	AR 635-200 (e.m.), AR 635-5 (officers)	AR 635-200 (e.m.)	AR 635-5 (officers)	Sentence of a special court-martial	Sentence of a general court-martial	Sentence of a general court-martial	AR 635-120 (officers) AR 635-5 (officers) (the provisions of AR 635-5 apply to all officers of the Army; AR 140-175 provide that Reserve officers being separated will be furnished discharge certificates in accordance with AR 635-5)	
Conditions under which issued.	Convenience of the Government; expiration of enlistment; minority; resignation; dependency or hardship; disability; revocation or termination of appointment; discharge to accept appointment	Convenience of the Government; disability; disloyal or subversive; expiration of enlistment; minority; resignation, unsuitability; homosexuality	Misconduct; homosexuality; qualified resignation, unfitness; disloyal and subversive; a.w.o.l. or desertion	Conviction of felony by civil authorities; security violation			(Dismissal by sentence of general court-martial is equivalent to dishonorable discharge)		
<b>BENEFITS ADMINISTERED BY OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES</b>									
Farm loans and preference for such loans (Department of Agriculture).	Eligible	Eligible	Eligible	Eligible	Eligible	Eligible	Not eligible	Eligible	Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (50 Stat. 522), as amended (7 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.).
Preference for farm housing loans (Department of Agriculture).	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	Sec. 507, Housing Act of 1949 (63 Stat. 436), as amended (42 U.S.C. 1477).
Homestead preference (Department of Interior).	do	do	Not eligible	Not eligible	Not eligible	Not eligible	do	Not eligible	Sec. 1, act of Mar. 1, 1921 (41 Stat. 1202), as amended (43 U.S.C. 238); sec. 1, act of Sept. 27, 1944 (c. 421, 58 Stat. 747), as amended (43 U.S.C. 279).
Desert land preference (Department of Interior).	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	Sec. 1, act of Mar. 1, 1921 (41 Stat. 1202), as amended (43 U.S.C. 238); sec. 2, act of Dec. 15, 1921 (42 Stat. 348; 43 U.S.C. 331).
Civil service preference (Civil Service Commission).	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	Sec. 2, Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 387), as amended (5 U.S.C. 851).
Reemployment benefits, Federal or private (Civil Service Commission or Department of Labor).	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	Sec. 9, Universal Military Training and Service Act (62 Stat. 614), as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 459); pt. 35, Civil Service Commission Regulations.
Job counseling and employment placement (Department of Labor).	do	do	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	do	do	do	38 U.S.C. 2010 et seq.
Unemployment compensation, veterans of service after June 26, 1950 (Department of Labor).	do	do	do <sup>4</sup>	do <sup>4</sup>	do <sup>4</sup>	do	do	do	38 U.S.C. 2001 et seq.
Naturalization benefits (Department of Justice).	do	do	Not eligible	Not eligible	Not eligible	do	do	do	Sec. 329, Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 250), as amended (8 U.S.C. 1440).
Social security (Social Security Administration).	do	do	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	Eligible <sup>4</sup>	do	do	do	Sec. 217, Social Security Act, as added by sec. 105, Social Security Act Amendments of 1950 (64 Stat. 512) as amended (42 U.S.C. 417); title IV, act of Aug. 1, 1956 (Public Law 881, 84th Cong., 70 Stat. 869 et seq.).

<sup>1</sup> Title 10, United States Code, secs. 1161 and 6408, provides for the dropping from the rolls of an officer absent without leave more than 3 months or who has been convicted by civilian authorities and sentenced to confinement in a Federal or State penitentiary or correctional institution. This office has previously stated that such separation will usually be characterized as under other than honorable conditions.

<sup>2</sup> Resignations for the good of the service are normally accepted as under other than honorable conditions and a discharge (under other than honorable conditions) is issued. Subparagraph 4d, Army Regulations 635-120, dated Nov. 25, 1955, provides however, that if the Department of the Army determines that the resignation be accepted under honorable conditions, an honorable or general discharge may be furnished. As a matter of policy if it is determined that the resignation is under honorable conditions it is no longer considered a resignation for the good of the service but as a resignation under honorable conditions.

<sup>3</sup> Paid by the Army; determination of conditions of discharge by the Veterans' Administration.

<sup>4</sup> Subject to a review of the facts surrounding the discharge by the agency administering the benefit except in the case of death gratuities by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 4821, Revised Statutes (24 U.S.C. 49) provides that certain soldiers with service in the Army of the United States are eligible for admission to the Soldiers' Home. Sec. 4822, Revised Statutes (24 U.S.C. 50) provides "the benefits of the

Soldiers' Home shall not be extended to any soldier in the Regular or volunteer service, convicted of felony or other disgraceful or infamous crimes of a civil nature after his admission into the service of the United States; nor shall anyone who has been a deserter, mutineer, or habitual drunkard be received without such evidence of subsequent service, good conduct, and reformation of character as is satisfactory to the commissioners."

<sup>6</sup> 38 U.S.C. 3103 provides in substance that discharge or dismissal by reason of sentence of GCM and other discharges and dismissals specified, shall bar all rights based upon the period of service from which discharged or dismissed, under any laws administered by the Veterans' Administration.

<sup>7</sup> Eligibility dependent upon entitlement to disability compensation.

<sup>8</sup> Eligibility dependent upon entitlement to disability compensation for 1 of specified disabilities.

**NOTE.**—State benefits: The States provide a varying number of veterans' benefits which include bonuses, burial rights, employment preferences, and tax benefits. No general rule can be stated as to eligibility requirements for such benefits. Some States require an honorable discharge; others require discharge under conditions other than dishonorable, service with honor, or satisfactory service.

Source: Prepared in the Military Affairs Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Army (revised Oct. 1 1960).



## The New Newburgh

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JAMES C. DAVIS**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, further evidence that there can be no Federal aid without Federal control is dramatically underlined by bureaucratic meddling and opposition to the efforts of Newburgh, N.Y., to purge its relief rolls of welfare chiselers.

One of the finest editorials that I have seen on the Newburgh case appeared in the August 16 issue of the Wall Street Journal. I think this editorial should be read and studied by every American.

The editorial follows:

THE NEW NEWBURGH—WELFARE PSYCHOLOGY,  
CIVIC REFORMS CHANGE CITY'S LOOK

(By Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.)

NEWBURGH, N.Y.—While much attention has been fixed in recent weeks on this city's progress in enacting a more rigid welfare code, the controversial code itself and the publicity it has fomented have resulted in a variety of interesting secondary results. For although the new regulations have not yet of themselves directly affected the city's welfare load, they have indirectly helped to alleviate several historic community problems.

Since the 13-point program went into effect on July 15, for instance, the crime rate in Newburgh's Water Street slum area has fallen markedly. For the first time in many months, nobody from the Water Street district was a defendant at a session of municipal court. This in itself is extraordinary because in the past few years that district has been far and away the biggest headache for the police department.

A visitor quickly senses the changed atmosphere on an after-dark tour of the Water Street area. The streets are quiet and almost empty, except for small groups of children here and there playing hopscotch or hide-and-seek under a street light. The bars are doing business as usual but they are doing it quietly. Just 6 weeks ago it was common for a sidewalk stroller to have to step off the curb to get around a couple of men (or women) preparing to settle a dispute in direct fashion. Also, during the wee hours, one was likely to see a crowd of 50 or 60 men and women gathered in front of a tavern, chattering excitedly and drunkenly shoving each other about.

City officials view the changed atmosphere with satisfaction, and they contend that the new welfare psychology is responsible for the change.

#### BROAD APPROACH

"What most people outside of Newburgh fail to realize," says City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell, "is that our new welfare code is just one part of a broad approach to community problems. We are now working hard to improve zoning laws, eliminate the many fire hazards in some parts of town, remedy unsanitary conditions in poorer neighborhoods, press forward with our urban renewal projects, provide additional off-street parking in the downtown area, and we're trying by various means to boost the local economy."

The most noticeable result of the tougher city attitude is that residents seem to be gaining a new respect for city hall. This is partly due to reawakened civic pride but probably more to the stringent measures the city is using in its broad attack on local problems. And adoption of the welfare code

served to convince many doubters that the city meant business.

Newburgh, to illustrate the community's new approach, has had a long-time garbage problem. Residents had over the years put out their garbage with little care for neatness. Refuse cans often had no covers and sometimes great piles of trash were simply set out with no container at all—and the wind and dogs could be counted on to scatter garbage on lawns and in streets. But today Newburgh's garbage problem no longer exists. An offender first gets a warning, but on the second offense he is pulled into court and, if found guilty, is liable to a stiff fine.

One of the dilemmas that prompted the new welfare code, aside from rising public relief costs that threatened to force a real estate tax boost of 30 percent, was the deterioration of the Water Street area. Newburgh now has an inspection team composed of fire, sanitation, housing, building and plumbing inspectors who jointly give a dwelling a thorough once-over.

#### CONVERSION OF DWELLINGS

The Water Street area is populated almost exclusively by Negroes, and many of these are migrant workers from the South who drifted into town when the picking season on surrounding farms was over. They were able to find space to live because for years the city looked the other way when half a dozen families crowded into one-family houses. Now Newburgh has a law which prohibits the conversion of a one-family dwelling into more than three separate units. And, while no statistics are available, city officials believe the influx of migrants has been slowed and that many of these newcomers are leaving town.

City Manager Mitchell contends it is still too early to judge the effect of the new welfare code on the city's welfare costs. Newburgh is moving slowly, he says, out of common prudence and because Peter Z. Petrillo, the new welfare commissioner, needs time to become acquainted with individual cases. Mr. Petrillo, a former schoolteacher with no welfare experience, recently replaced John J. O'Donnell, who resigned because he disagreed with the new code.

But if enforcement of the code is going slowly, the atmosphere the code has engendered is already causing a drop in public assistance costs. Since January, for instance, when new welfare rules were being actively considered, until July, when those rules were adopted, the number of home relief and aid to dependent children cases dropped from 266 to 135. At an annual rate, this amounts to a cost reduction of \$163,860. The city had been spending about \$1 million yearly on welfare, about half of which was paid by local taxpayers with the other half coming from the State and Federal Governments.

The 13-point program, aimed at weeding out the undeserving from the welfare rolls, includes such items as ending aid to unwed mothers who continue to have children, putting able-bodied relievers to work for the city, and cutting off assistance to recipients who have been on the rolls for more than 3 months—except in cases involving the elderly and the disabled.

And there are about a dozen more regulations to come. Mr. Mitchell isn't saying what these additional restrictions will be, but it is known that the city is seriously considering a law which will force relatives of needy persons to assume responsibility for their support. The city council believes, for instance, that many elderly people, now living in the local old people's home, are a public burden because their families, living nearby, refuse to care for them.

New York State welfare officials, incensed by Newburgh's do-it-yourself revamping of its welfare system, is seeking a court injunction prohibiting the city from carrying out its program. Supreme Court Justice

John P. Donohue is expected to rule on the State's request shortly.

Aside from the politically volatile nature of the case, State officials are alarmed because they fear that Newburgh's action might deprive the whole State of Federal welfare aid. The Federal Government requires that a State, to be eligible for welfare funds from Washington, must administer its welfare program in a uniform manner. And Newburgh's new code is far stricter than those of other municipalities in the State.

#### PATCHWORK JOB

Meanwhile, Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is considering a major overhaul of Federal welfare laws. Thus far, Mr. Ribicoff has not commented directly on the Newburgh case, but he has termed the entire system of Federal welfare aid a "patchwork" job.

Liberal charges that Newburgh is following a reactionary style of municipal government are denied by city officials who contend the city is aggressively, and progressively, working to improve the general welfare. The city, for instance, will soon announce a \$500,000 outlay to improve parking and traffic conditions in the shopping district. It has urged establishment of a major jet airport at a site 30 miles from the city—this at a time when most municipalities are doing their best to keep the jet airliners away from their doors.

Newburgh is also in the process of clearing a blighted area for a third public housing project, even though a previous project—the Bourne Apartments in the Water Street section—became a civic menace when the occupants created every manner of nuisance.

Mrs. Hattie Howard, walking her dog along the Broadway shopping area, reflected for a moment "on all the excitement around here" and declared: "I don't know what will come of the new welfare code, and I'm not even sure it's fair to everybody. But I'll tell you this. Newburgh is becoming a better place to live because more people are interested in what's going on. And I think we're all pretty proud of our little city."

## Medical Assistance for the Aged Enacted by Georgia's General Assembly

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JOHN W. DAVIS**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JOHN W. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, it is with justifiable pride that I call the attention of the membership of this body to the fact that the sovereign State of Georgia has taken significant steps to fulfill its responsibility toward the medical needs of Georgia's older citizens.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter from my good friend, Dr. Fred H. Simonton, president of the Medical Association of Georgia, to the Honorable S. Ernest Vandiver, Governor of Georgia, which evinces the forward-looking and responsible attitude of the medical profession of Georgia:

HON. S. ERNEST VANDIVER,  
Governor, State of Georgia, State Capital  
Building, Atlanta, Ga.

DEAR GOVERNOR VANDIVER: I wish to take this opportunity, in behalf of the Medical Association of Georgia to commend you and your administration on your decisive action to implement the medical assistance for the



aged program as enacted by the Georgia General Assembly. Your leadership in establishing the Governor's commission on aging; the Governor's study committee on aging; and your support of the enabling legislation which allowed Georgia to implement the Federal Kerr-Mills law in the State legislature, give ample evidence of your strong desire to provide better health care for Georgia's senior citizens.

As physicians, dedicated to promote the science and art of medicine and the betterment of public health, we share your concern for health care needs of the people of Georgia. It then is only right and proper that we doctors praise and endorse your announcement of the activation of a \$7,200,000 medical assistance program for the aged.

Traditionally, the medical profession has and will continue to treat and administer to all patients irrespective of their ability to pay for such care. Our association, comprised of 3,000 doctors of medicine, pledges cooperation with your medical assistance to the aged program. We wish to assure you that we join with you in this program to provide medical care for Georgia's needy elder citizens.

Again, may we commend you for this forward step in meeting the health care needs of Georgians—by providing care for those who need care. As Governor, you have met the challenge of medical care for the aged and have again served all the people of this great State.

Respectfully,

FRED H. SIMONTON, M.D.,  
President, Medical Association of  
Georgia.

**Address by Hon. John E. Fogarty of  
Rhode Island, to the Rhode Island  
Optometric Association**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY**

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by me at the annual banquet of the Rhode Island Optometric Association:

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND, AT ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE RHODE ISLAND OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION AT LINDSEY'S, LINCOLN, R.I., ON SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1961

It is a great pleasure to be with you tonight and to have this opportunity to talk to you about eyes, aging, and our Nation's most important resource—healthy population.

I have long been impressed with the important supportive role played by the optometrist in the early detection of diseases of the eye. Into your offices come people with all kinds of visual defects, and you thus are key personnel in advising the patient when disease requires further treatment. This is a tremendous responsibility you have. There are only about 20,000 optometrists in the United States, and it has been estimated that almost 40 percent of the population has eye defects.

I am aware of your code of ethics which binds you to advise the patient whenever other professional care seems advisable, and

of the fine work you have done through the "Optometry Annual," which for years has stimulated interest in the early detection of glaucoma by competent refraction of the eye. The discipline of optometry has earned the gratitude of all of us for its use of preventive and corrective measures to insure maximum vision and comfort for a considerable part of our population.

Spectacles have been in use since the 14th century, but the discipline of optometry is relatively new. Right here in New England, just 27 miles from Boston, Dr. Augustus Klein set up the Klein School of Optics, in 1896, where he delivered lectures in a pine grove on his estate. The following year the American Optometric Association was founded. While Dr. Klein was not one of its founders, clearly it is the pioneering work of men such as he that established the roots that have become the discipline of optometry.

Still, I am impressed by the small numbers of optometrists we have who have such an important role in dealing with eye conditions in our population, especially in that nearly 10 percent of our population age 65 or older.

You may be asking yourselves at this point—how do I qualify to speak to you on the subject of aging in the field of optometry, or aging in any field, for that matter? My answer is simply that in the course of my 20 years in Congress I have become deeply interested in and active on the Health Subcommittee on Appropriations. As chairman of that subcommittee for 9 years I have been privileged to take a leading part in the establishment of a broad forward-looking program of research in the medical and biological sciences. To keep abreast of developments it was necessary for me to learn as much as possible about these fields to qualify as a well-informed layman, while at the same time serving as your Representative, and, of course, as a citizen who has the same stake in medical progress as any other citizen.

Early this year the White House Conference on Aging was held in Washington. As some of you may be aware, I have a deep personal and official interest in the results of this, the first White House Conference on Aging. I am proud to have introduced H.R. 9822 calling on the President to hold such a conference. Officially, in my opinion, I performed no more important task while chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives.

The importance of your profession's contribution to this conference was recognized when Dr. Ralph Wick, chairman of the Committee on Vision Care of the American Optometric Association was named to its National Advisory Committee.

In addition to Dr. Wick, two other representatives from the association served as delegates as well as delegates from the American Optometric Foundation and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

It was interesting to me to note in the conference recommendations, the number of references to "optometry" and its significance in the total approach to meeting the challenge of aging.

I must share with you my deep concern about the results of the White House Conference. If you heard or read any of the many speeches I made preceding the Conference, and at the meeting itself, you know what stress I placed on action. The conference was not intended to be the goal—but a beginning along the lines that 2,565 voting delegates decided in workshops and general sessions.

During the recent hearings on the appropriations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I was very critical of the report of the Conference because it was not the blueprint for action that had been

promised. I ventured to add that this might well be the most expensive and least productive of the national conferences and could be a cruel hoax against our senior citizens who prayerfully waited patiently for positive action after the hundreds of gatherings that were held in preparation for the Washington meeting.

More than ever, I believe that favorable action should be taken on the bill I introduced in Congress on the opening day of the White House Conference. It calls for the creation of a Federal Commission on Aging that will provide the mechanism, prestige, and independence needed to keep the national program on aging vital and meaningful and not a leftover function or second best activity of any one department.

I have just heard of the formation of the Vision Institute of America and some of the plans for pilot projects in the field of aging. This is a most important development in the field of aging and its potential for the field of optometry is equally significant. We shall all be watching and encouraging you in this endeavor. It is almost the prophesy on the cover of "Vision of the Aging Patient" come true. It says "Old age can well be the golden years of a human life. The optometric profession can help to make it that by the proper care of the most vital of the senses—vision."

It is my hope that Rhode Island will take a leadership role in this entire field of meeting the needs of the aging on all fronts. There are several unique factors affecting our State which are the basis for my expressing this objective.

At the present time, our older persons covered by medical insurance far exceed the national average.

Rhode Island welfare and medical programs are somewhat more liberal than in many other States. Only 8 percent of our population receives old age assistance benefits, ranking 41st among the other States.

A State analysis shows 27 percent of the aged in Rhode Island to be handicapped by serious defects in vision, hearing, or mobility.

It is most encouraging to have Brown University included among the distinguished universities undertaking a part of the national research program.

At Brown, initially, the socioeconomic factors associated with aging will be studied and the relationship between these factors and the medical and biological aspects of aging and old age will be assessed. Five of the departments of the university will contribute to the project and the Rhode Island Hospital and community facilities will be used for clinical research purposes.

Other aging studies at Brown University are being supported by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Public Health Service, and the Ford Foundation.

Arrangements are underway to hold the second of the nine regional conferences—sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education with seven other educational groups at the University of Rhode Island in August. Again our State will play host to leaders from all of the New England States to develop the place of education in meeting the needs and desires of our elderly for lifelong learning and meaningful retirement.

It is my hope that the University of Rhode Island may become one of the Nation's centers on aging and preliminary steps have been taken toward that goal.

This is my concept of action. It has meaning for each of us in the job we are performing in our chosen fields and as citizens of the State and Nation.

To you, as optometrists numbering approximately 20,000 nationally and 150 within Rhode Island, there is a tremendous opportunity.



A few figures tell us of the task before you. Approximately 70 million Americans have eye ailments and need glasses; about 1 million persons have glaucoma without knowing they have it; 350,000 persons are considered legally blind, half of these are individuals 65 years of age or older.

It costs the United States approximately \$500 million annually for the special benefits for the blind. There is no way to measure the cost to the individual, his family, friends, or the community.

Of this I am sure, that with the devotion to your profession that has been reflected in your growth and achievements, there is a brighter tomorrow for our Nation and for our senior adults who have had cause to doubt the value of their added years.

Now they can look forward to useful, healthful years lived with dignity and independence.

Much of this will be realized because you have kept faith with your own optometry's pledge:

"Next to life itself, God's most gracious gift is sight, and to the service of this great gift of sight we optometrists sincerely and faithfully dedicate our ministry."

**Address of Luther L. Terry, M.D., Surgeon General, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Before the Alabama State Legislature**

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I would like, at this time, to place in the RECORD, an address given before the Alabama State Legislature on July 18, 1961, by Dr. Luther L. Terry, Surgeon General, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Dr. Terry, a distinguished Alabamian, in his address, honors our beloved senior Senator from Alabama, the Honorable LISTER HILL who has, throughout his long and honored career constantly strived to improve the medical facilities and the field of medicine. Senator HILL, known as Mr. Health, while not following in the footsteps of his father, a distinguished surgeon, has throughout his political career served the medical profession and the health of the Nation with devotion and leadership that cannot and will not go unnoticed in the years ahead.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY LUTHER L. TERRY, M.D., SURGEON GENERAL, PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE JOINT SESSION OF THE ALABAMA LEGISLATURE, MONTGOMERY, ALA., JULY 18, 1961

At the outset, I wish to say that I appreciate the honor of addressing a joint session of the Alabama Legislature. Also I want to thank the members of the senate and the house of representatives for the sentiments expressed in their joint resolution. I will endeavor to deserve their praise and good wishes.

I would also like to pay tribute to Alabama's delegation in the U.S. Congress. Senators HILL and SPARKMAN have won the admiration of the entire Nation as two of America's finest statesmen. They and our Congressmen comprise one of the ablest and hardest working groups in the Capitol.

I have known Senator HILL all my life. Some years ago, I was distressed when he decided to go into politics instead of medicine. I thought the country would be wasting a good physician. I have changed my mind, for there's no doubt he has done more for the health of mankind as a statesman than any one physician could possibly do. In the United States—and a number of other countries—Alabama's senior Senator is "Mr. Health."

It is not often that an official of the U.S. Government has an opportunity to discuss his responsibilities with the legislators and executive officers of his native State. I welcome this opportunity. Until a few months ago, my chief concern was with medical research and training, principally in the field of cardiovascular disease. When I was appointed Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, my responsibilities were broadened to encompass the health of the Nation.

National health is nothing more nor less than the health of every State, every community, every individual. As I view the scene, all of us share the responsibility for three major health problems.

The first is the changing pattern of disease in our growing population. During the past two decades, the American people have witnessed the virtual conquest of bacterial diseases. In that period, chronic diseases have continually risen in prominence as causes of death, and even more so as causes of prolonged disability. This problem is closely associated with the medical needs of the aged, since cardiovascular disease, cancer, and metabolic diseases strike most severely in the later years of life. But I must point out that chronic conditions inflict the highest disability rates in all age groups, from early infancy through the most productive years of adulthood.

The second problem is corollary of the first; namely, the provision of comprehensive health care for 180 million people. The core of this problem is our lack of facilities, personnel, and effective organizations for the application of medical science to human needs. A part of this problem is our need for more efficient systems of financing medical care for the aged and dependent groups. Modern medicine has a vast array of preventive, curative, and restorative techniques. If these were readily available to all segments of the population in all communities, we could anticipate a substantial reduction in costly long-term disability.

The third problem is the emergence of new environmental threats of life and health. These include ionizing radiations, chemical wastes in the atmosphere and water resources, and the use of new chemicals in foods and domestic products. Both rural and urban populations are confronted with increased exposures to these hazards.

Our hopes for ultimate success in solving these major problems depend upon one common factor—continued progress in the health sciences. During the past 15 years, our national health policy has given highest priority to the expansion of medical research. The result has been greater advances in scientific medicine than in any prior period.

We can anticipate further medical advances under that policy. But many problems in the life sciences remain unsolved. Many research areas affecting human health are little explored. Notable among these are the environmental sciences, the behavioral sciences, and administrative re-

search. Of critical concern also is the fact that the health professions in many parts of our country lack the essential support of strong research programs.

I would like now to give you a closer view of the three major health problems as they affect the nation and the State of Alabama. In doing so, I shall discuss briefly our national programs in these areas and some proposals for the future.

#### CHRONIC ILLNESS AND THE AGED

In considering the problem of chronic illness, we need to bear in mind, the great population changes that are taking place. I know that this is a matter of primary political concern. It also has significant implications for national health.

The Nation's population totaled 180 million in 1960. This represented an increase of 18.5 percent over 1950. The two groups with the highest rates of growth were the children and the aged. The child population under 18 years of age increased 37.6 percent and the aged over 65 increased nearly 35 percent. These trends will continue for the next few decades, with a predicted total population of 214 million in 1970.

In States like Alabama, where population growth is slow, the proportional increase of the aged population may be much higher. For the Nation as a whole, the aged increased at a rate almost twice that of the total population in the past decade. Alabama's aged population increased by 31.5 percent, a rate more than four times that of the State as a whole (6.7 percent).

There are ample data to document the special health problems of the aged. At least 77 percent of persons 65 years of age and over have one or more chronic ailments. These conditions do not always disable; but more than 6 million older people who are not in institutions report some limitation of their usual activities as a result of chronic conditions. About 2 million in that group are invalids, in the commonly accepted sense of the term. That is, they are in chronic ill health and disabled for active life.

Approximately half a million older people are in nursing homes and similar institutions and another quarter million or more in mental hospitals. From past experience, we know that in most of these institutions, the elderly patients are very old, very sick, and are receiving inferior service and very little medical care.

The high prevalence of chronic illness in the aged has stimulated national concern to find a satisfactory system for financing their medical expenses. As you know, President Kennedy has proposed the extension of our social security system to provide health insurance for aged beneficiaries. In my opinion, that is the logical, the most satisfactory approach. Our experience with other approaches indicates that for the majority of old people, action is too little and too late. Whatever the Nation's decision is in this matter, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that we must be prepared to provide more and better medical services for increasing numbers of older people.

The chronic diseases, which cause the largest volume of prolonged disability, may have their onset at any time of life. There are about 70 million persons in the United States with one or more chronic conditions. Less than half of these (32,147,000) are 45 years of age and over. In these groups, however, the rate of chronic illness as well as its severity increases sharply with age. Among persons 45 to 64 years old, 56 percent have chronic ailments and that rate increases to 83 percent at age 75 and older. The percentage of persons with partial or major limitations due to chronic illness increases progressively from 13 percent in the younger group (45-64) to 55 percent in the oldest.

The health professions have long recognized that the best hope for coping with



chronic disease is a preventive approach. In 1947, four major professional organizations<sup>1</sup> issued this joint statement:

"The basic approach to chronic disease must be preventive. Otherwise the problems created by chronic diseases will grow larger with time, and the hope of any substantial decline in their incidence and severity will be postponed for many years."

The earlier a chronic disease is diagnosed, the better the prognosis. If appropriate treatment is instituted promptly and medical supervision is maintained, the patient may live a long, active life with relatively little residual disability. This has been my experience as a clinician in the management of many cardiovascular patients.

It is true that a vast amount of basic and clinical research must be done before we have sure cures or simple preventive measures for most of the chronic diseases. In fact, as medical science advances, the more complex the causation of disease appears. But medicine has accumulated a battery of remarkably effective preventive weapons against chronic conditions in the past 15 years. To mention only a few: the prophylactic use of antibiotics has sharply reduced the incidence and mortality of rheumatic heart disease and subacute bacterial endocarditis. Anticoagulants have given a new lease on life to patients who survive their first coronary attack. The use of steroid compounds to suppress rheumatoid inflammation has prevented severe crippling in many arthritic patients. Exchange transfusions for Rh negative infants has virtually eliminated one form of cerebral palsy.

In addition, advances in diagnostic techniques have greatly increased efficiency in discovering serious chronic disease at a time when the chances of cure are best. Among these, I would mention improvements in the electrocardiograph and the electroencephalograph; the use of the tonometer to detect glaucoma; and the cytologic test for cancer of the uterus.

In sum, the prognosis for a national attack on chronic disease is far better than it ever has been in the past. We need to continue and expand our research effort. This we will do. But we must begin now to apply throughout the country all the gains we have made in scientific knowledge and medical skill.

#### COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE

This brings me to the second major health problem that confronts this Nation; the provision of comprehensive health care.

President Kennedy recognized the importance of this national problem in his first health message and has emphasized it in subsequent special messages. In his recommendations for community health facilities and services, the President stated that the ability of families and individuals to purchase health care is of no avail—if their communities do not have the necessary facilities and services.

The concept of comprehensive health care has emerged within the past decade as scientific progress has taught the health professions that there can be no separation of their basic responsibilities: prevention, care, and restoration.

In the distant past, it was possible to separate our very few preventive measures from the treatment of acutely ill people. Later on, a few surgeons seized the opportunities offered by the care of severely wounded soldiers to develop rehabilitative, or restorative, medicine.

This was extended first to the industrially injured and subsequently to a larger group of handicapped persons in our national pro-

grams for crippled children and vocational rehabilitation.

The goal now is to make sure that preventive, curative, and restorative services are available for all persons who need them, at the times they are needed, and wherever they are needed.

As I said earlier, the core of this problem is facilities and personnel. And it is inextricably linked with the costs of health services. We need to recall that medical care prices have risen more than 40 percent in the past decade. That is twice the rate of increase in the average price of all consumer goods and services for the same period. There is no indication that this trend will halt. There has been no corresponding improvement in the income status of the aged in the same decade. Moreover, private carriers of health insurance, with few exceptions, have not offered to the aged the same coverage and benefits offered to younger groups.

I am under no illusions that the improvement of community health facilities and services will reduce the Nation's annual medical bill of \$25 billion. In fact, if all our medical knowledge were applied wherever and whenever it is needed, that bill for a growing population would be substantially higher. The American people, however, want the best that medicine can provide. They have financed the scientific research that makes the advances. They will, I feel sure, find ways to pay the price of better care.

As a Nation, we have made substantial progress under the Hill-Burton program in reducing the deficit of general hospital beds, particularly in rural areas. In 1948, when construction began under the program, only 59 percent of the needed general hospital beds were in existence. By 1960, the States reported that 80 percent of the national need had been met. I regret that Alabama's record is below that of the Nation as a whole. Our ratio of general beds to population is about 3 per 1,000, as contrasted with the estimated need for 5 per 1,000.

It should be noted that a growing and mobile population has sharply increased the need for general hospitals in suburban areas. Also many of our oldest and most famous hospitals in central cities urgently need new facilities. Of special importance is the development of adequate teaching, research, and service facilities for the Nation's medical centers. I refer to such institutions as our University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham.

The most serious deficits in service facilities are in nursing homes, in new types of facilities for the intensive treatment of mental patients, and in rehabilitation facilities. As of January 1, 1960, the national deficit in nursing home and chronic disease beds was reported as more than 500,000. Both types of facility provide long-term care, chiefly for the aged. Legislation now before the Congress would authorize an additional \$10 million in Hill-Burton grants for the construction of nursing homes. If this increase is provided, the combined funds for chronic disease hospitals and nursing homes would total \$40 million a year in grants. If the States and communities utilize these grants, it will be possible to add about 10,000 nonprofit beds for long-term care each year. It can be expected that commercial nursing home facilities will continue to increase, probably at a faster rate under the expanded Federal-State programs for medical care of the aged.

Alabama has worked hard to meet her nursing home shortage, as well as to improve services in the homes. I was very proud about 2 months ago to learn that the one-thousandth Hill-Burton project to be completed in this part of the country was the Sylacauga Nursing Home at Syl-

cauge, Ala. What's more, this region is the first in the country to complete 1,000 Hill-Burton projects. I was gratified to observe, too, that the Sylacauga Nursing Home is administered by the community hospital. This insures skilled nursing care and proper medical supervision—two of the basic requirements for improving nursing home services.

Our State still has a long way to go in this nursing home field. More construction is needed. Also the Alabama Health Department will have to have increased support for personnel who can work with nursing home operators for better standards of care.

I have not touched upon the Nation's needs for teaching and research facilities in the health field. These are intimately associated with our shortages of professional personnel which I shall now discuss.

President Kennedy's recommendations for health profession's educational assistance would authorize a 10-year program of matching construction grants for medical, dental, and public health schools, at a rate of \$60 million a year. New schools or major expansions of existing schools would receive up to 60 percent of costs in Federal grants, while the ratio for renovation would be 50-50. The proposal would also extend our Public Health Service construction grant program for research facilities for 3 years, increasing the authorization to \$50 million a year.

The educational provisions would make available scholarship grants to medical and dental schools for aid to students requiring financial assistance. The schools would also receive instructional grants equivalent to \$1,000 per Federal scholarship holder.

These proposals have had wide approval from the professions and the public. They would make a start toward meeting the long-standing deficits in professional health personnel.

We need to strengthen and expand our existing schools; and we need to build new ones. We need to recruit our best young men and women to careers in the health professions.

The shortage of physicians and dentists has been a never-ceasing problem for the past two decades. The national ratio of physicians to population has been about the same—132 per 100,000—in a period of great and rapid population growth. Many parts of the country are not as well off as they were in 1940. Alabama, for example, had a ratio of 89 per 100,000 at that time. At present, the figure is about 72 physicians per 100,000 people. Only two States have a more severe shortage: South Dakota with 68 and South Carolina with 71 per 100,000.

This State, like many others with severe economic problems, has made heroic efforts since World War II to strengthen its educational and health programs. These problems are complex; they are difficult to solve and their solution is costly. I believe, however, that State governments face a broader responsibility in relation to health than ever before. Federal aid in various fields—notably medical research, hospital construction, and public health programs—has been substantial over the past decade. I believe that it will increase and extend into new areas. But the Federal Government cannot carry the entire burden of public responsibility for growing health needs.

I believe that the next decade will see a tremendous increase in service occupations as a source of economic development. Automation in industry will create many new jobs requiring higher levels of education and training. So, also, in health services, advances in science and technology will create new opportunities demanding special skills. The kinds of specialists and technicians employed in comprehensive health services already have increased. Today, there are four professional health workers for every physician. These additional workers provide

<sup>1</sup> The American Hospital Association, American Medical Association, American Public Health Association, and American Public Welfare Association.



the nursing care, the laboratory and pharmacy services, and many of the special treatments—such as physical therapy—which the physician requires in the management of his patients. He is responsible for making the diagnosis and prescribing the treatment; but an army of professional and technical personnel carry out his instructions.

Most of these services are available in the modern hospital. But if we are to provide comprehensive health care for 180 million people we must find ways to bring more of these services to the people—in their own homes, nursing homes, and facilities for ambulatory care. It is wasteful of professional personnel and funds to keep patients in hospitals beyond the time when the full battery of specialized hospital equipment and service is needed.

Organized community services to provide comprehensive health care outside the hospital are available in only a few parts of the country. Yet where even partial programs are in operation, their values in improving the health of the people and reducing the costs of care have been demonstrated.

Let me illustrate. Simple exercises and other measures in care of the patient can have people who survive stroke walking within 2 months of the attack. The longer the time before these measures are instituted, the longer the patient is flat on his back, and the harder it is to restore function. But even severely paralyzed patients—after lying in bed for years—have recovered function—enough to take care of their daily personal needs.

Mind you, this particular method of carrying out the restorative phase of comprehensive health care is probably the least expensive technique in the entire medical armamentarium. Properly instructed, any intelligent adult can do for the patient what is needed; and the patient himself very soon is exercising himself.

Now you may ask, if this is known, why are so many victims of stroke permanently and totally disabled? It would take me an hour or more to go into the basic reasons. They are related to education of the health professions, traditional ideas of what severely ill patients can and cannot do, and the tendency in nursing homes to keep patients in bed and docile. Let me tell you instead that medical schools and health departments all over the country are jumping at the chance to put these measures into operation. The State Health Department of Georgia and Emory Medical School have teamed up, for example, with help from the Public Health Service. They are providing community services to institute this restorative technique in nursing homes and the homes of stroke patients.

It does require some personnel to start such a program and keep it going. But I am sure that your State health officer, Dr. Gill, and his staff will tell you that new community services of that sort would go far in stretching dollars and providing better care for the aged.

President Kennedy's proposal for strengthening community health facilities and services would increase Public Health Service grants to the States for these purposes. It would expand efforts to improve the quality of care in nursing homes, as well as programs for chronic disease control. It would encourage the development of comprehensive health care programs in local communities. And it would provide supports for special projects in public and private organizations designed to develop new and better methods of delivering comprehensive services.

Governor Patterson is 1 of 31 Governors who replied to the request for comments on these proposals by the congressional subcommittee considering the legislation. Governor Patterson wrote, in part, that

"this bill, if enacted, could have a profound effect on the health of this Nation. I believe the need is great and the approach of this legislation is sound." I scarcely need add that Secretary Ribicoff and I agree with the Governor.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

The third major problem—new environmental hazards—has been advancing upon us for 20 years. The principal areas of concern are water and air pollution, the use of new chemicals and of ionizing radiation. Within these broad fields there are the specialized problems of industrial workers exposed to new processes and the concentration of environmental problems in metropolitan areas.

In the main, these problems are by-products of technologic progress. They are accompanied and exacerbated by population growth and increased urbanization. So the American people are confronted with a dilemma. How can we create a healthful environment, conserve our natural resources, and at the same time retain the benefits of industrial technology? Those benefits have added immeasurably to the convenience and healthfulness of daily living. But they have imposed heavy hidden costs on the economy and on human health.

Water pollution has driven up the costs of industrial production and of municipal water supplies. It has seriously depleted the Nation's fish and wildlife and its recreational areas. It has had adverse effects on animal industry and agriculture. And it is a very real and present danger to human beings.

Last February, there was an outbreak of infectious hepatitis in Pascagoula, Miss., which eventually involved 80 cases in Pascagoula and Jackson County, Miss., in Troy and Mobile, Ala. Epidemiologic studies by the Public Health Service traced the source to raw sewage discharged into the Pascagoula River and eventually infecting oysters which the victims had eaten. The shellfish were harvested from presumably safe reefs in the coastal area.

In investigating this puzzling outbreak and halting its spread, the Public Health Service had wonderful cooperation from both State health departments, as well as from the Mississippi Marine Conservation Commission. Later this year water pollution was the source of another outbreak of infectious hepatitis in New Jersey and New York. It was traced to clams taken from Raritan Bay. I cite these two instances to emphasize that water pollution knows no political boundaries; and that it affects both fresh and salt water resources, long distances from the point of waste discharge.

Air pollution from industrial and domestic sources and automotive traffic is a recognized problem in all metropolitan areas, and a serious one in many. The production and use of chemicals and ionizing radiation have added enormous dimensions to the environmental problem. It is further complicated by the lack of uniform laws and regulations in this great national complex of State and local jurisdictions.

What can we do about it? The first need is for a greatly expanded national research, training, and development effort in the environmental sciences, comparable with our efforts in medical science, aeronautics and space research. Lack of scientific knowledge and efficient control equipment is the chief handicap which deters governmental agencies at all levels in their efforts to protect natural resources and human health.

Insofar as health is concerned, the great unknown is the biological effects of small, intermittent doses of radiation and new chemicals over long periods of time.

A second major need is for funds and a coordinating mechanism to bring together specialists in a wide variety of fields—at National, State, and municipal levels. The ob-

jective would be to apply interdisciplinary analysis, planning, and logistics to specific problems, as well as to the total environment of different regions or metropolitan areas.

The Public Health Service has had responsibilities, including some regulatory duties, in environmental fields since early in this century. It acquired additional responsibilities, particularly in water and air pollution control and radiological health, during the 1950's.

One of our goals now is to speed water pollution control, especially through increased research, training, and financial grants to municipalities for the construction of waste treatment facilities.

We expect also to expand research, training, and technical assistance in all environmental fields. President Kennedy has requested funds for site acquisition, planning, and design of a National Environmental Research Center located near the National Institutes of Health and the central facilities of other Federal research agencies such as the Bureau of Standards, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Various field centers, some of which are already in being, will be developed to conduct field investigations and provide technical assistance to adjacent regions.

#### THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN MEETING HEALTH NEEDS

The problems and programs I have mentioned represent only a sample of the nation's health needs and resources. In all these areas and others, public and private resources have poured into the breach to meet urgent needs. If this were not so, American medicine and public health would not have attained their present high levels of proficiency. Without public and private action, we would not have our universities, hospitals, health departments, voluntary agencies, pharmaceutical and instrumentation industries.

In certain areas, joint planning and action by public and private organizations has brought about sustained progress over the past two decades. Usually, the beginnings have been small; but in some instances the results have been spectacular. Two notable examples are the national medical research effort and the national hospital and medical facilities program. Both have gone from strength to strength largely as a result of the active involvement of professions, governments, industries, non-profit institutions, and voluntary associations. This great complex of private and public resources is now called upon for similar involvement in different—but closely related—areas. Concerted action has made possible every significant advance in the nation's health services. The contemporary problems are certainly more complicated than those of the past. But they are no more difficult of solution—if there is a will to solve them in the public interest.

Future progress in comprehensive health care, in education of the health professions, in environmental health will depend in large measure on clear understanding by public and private groups of their respective responsibilities. I mention these relationships because health needs in a nation of high material prosperity sometimes have a "low visibility," in comparison with other more obvious demands. Health needs are continuous. In a growing population they cannot be met by single actions expected to fill the bill for a generation.

In our country, governmental agencies and institutions derive responsibilities and funds from the representatives of the people in Federal and State Legislatures. Over the past quarter century, our national policy for community health facilities and services has been to provide Federal grants to the States, accompanied in some instances by other forms of assistance. Further, the in-



tent of the U.S. Congress has been to provide proportionally larger financial aid to the jurisdictions with low per capita income. This policy has been pursued consistently in Federal-State programs operated by the Public Health Service, the Social Security Administration, and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.

The pattern of Public Health Service grants for health research, training, and research facilities construction has been different. Here the aim has been to build up the Nation's scientific potential through support of institutions and individual scientists. The same pattern has been applied in our programs for the advanced training of public health specialists and nurses.

In both these programs, research and training institutions in all parts of the country have benefited, whether operated under public or private auspices. For example, our National Institutes of Health programs have increased support of institutions in Alabama progressively over the past 12 years. In all, over \$10.5 million in NIH grants have been awarded to Alabama's research and training institutions.

A second goal of these programs, aided by the Hill-Burton program, is to strengthen the Nation's medical centers. These are at present the source of medical leadership in teaching, research, and clinical service—and the hope of the future. As a reflection of this policy, let me point out that the University of Alabama has received 80 percent of the National Institutes of Health grant funds awarded in this State—a total of \$8.4 million.

Alabama has also benefited by the Federal-State health programs now in existence. For example, in the 10-year period, 1951-60, the Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau awarded a total of about \$63 million in grants to this State. The bulk of that support (about \$37 million) was for the construction of hospitals and medical facilities under the Hill-Burton program. Another \$5 million was in aid to the construction of waste treatment works. The remainder was in support of other public health programs, including disease control, maternal and child health, and crippled children's services.

Of course, the Federal share in all these health activities has been less than that of State and local resources, both public and private. For example, the total cost of the 162 Hill-Burton projects approved in Alabama since 1948 will be over \$103 million when completed, the Federal share of which is about \$51 million. Private nonprofit institutions, as well as local governments, are responsible for the bulk of remaining costs.

State and local governments traditionally have borne the major burden for public health services. In the past decade, the proportional contribution of the Federal Government in those fields has declined, while that of State and local governments has increased sharply. This change has occurred even in States with relatively meager economic resources. In Alabama and the five neighboring States comprising Region IV of the DHEW, State appropriations for public health increased 155 percent between 1951 and 1960, as contrasted with a national average of 145 percent. The corresponding figures for local appropriations were 98 percent for Region IV local jurisdictions and 94 percent for the Nation as a whole.

Alabama has neither the best nor the worst record in this transition. Among Region IV States, Florida and Georgia Legislatures have increased State provisions for public health by 185 and 233 percent, respectively. South Carolina and Tennessee managed increases of 122 and 144 percent, while Alabama and Mississippi State appropriations have increased by only 91 and 51 percent, respectively.

State and local governments are being called upon to play a larger role in types of health activity new to most of them. I refer particularly to health research, education of the health professions, construction of community facilities, and administration of medical care programs covering larger segments of the population than previously came within their purview. The prominent role that private institutions have played in these areas will not—must not—diminish. On the contrary, it must increase.

The fact is that we cannot sustain progress in national health without substantial expansion of support from all sources. The stress of competition with other large national demands already has had an adverse impact on the Nation's health institutions and agencies.

I am anything but an expert in economics and politics. But as a medical administrator, I know that high quality research, teaching, and service in my field cannot be performed without adequate support for personnel, facilities, and administration. In health fields, nothing less than high quality will suffice, for these activities touch people—in the most poignant experiences of their lives.

If expenditures lag too far behind increasing costs, increasing demands, the quality of health activities will deteriorate in the long run. If pressing demands for other civic needs are allowed to crowd out health needs, the effect on the economy of a state or of a nation can only be disastrous. In practical terms, achievements in those fields depend ultimately on a healthy, productive population. Parallel development of health resources must keep pace with action in these other fields.

My contacts with other medical administrators in private and public organizations lead me to believe that this crowding out of health needs is occurring in many States. In others, there is a slowing up of support for new activities launched with enthusiasm only a few years ago.

The struggle of the University of Alabama Medical Center to build the research, teaching, and service potential of this State is a case in point. My colleagues and I in the Public Health Service, as well as eminent scientists on our advisory councils, have been impressed by the quality of work at the Alabama Medical Center. The valiant efforts of Dr. Berson and his staffs in the component schools and the university hospital can only command the greatest respect. For these dedicated men and women are trying to carry out their mission to the people of this State under the handicap of inadequate facilities and insufficient professional personnel.

As I see it, the mission of a modern medical center is to develop high standards of research, teaching, and service and to radiate its influence throughout the communities of the area it serves. The basic responsibility of medical, dental, and nursing schools is to educate professional personnel. But this cannot be done without the inseparable functions of research and clinical care. The mission of our medical center thus transcends its educational function. It is intimately associated with the quantity and quality of health care available to the people of Alabama.

Of course, I am not prepared to discuss the specific problems of the medical center nor to suggest solutions. In institutions where tax funds are the principal source of support, the problems may involve capital investment, budget structure, relationships of State and local agencies—any number of basic issues associated with public administration in all areas. More often than not, however, appropriating bodies underestimate operating expenses and do not plan far

enough in advance for essential expansion of facilities and staff.

It is gratifying that the Alabama Legislature and the voters of this State have repeatedly increased capital investments in their medical center over the past decade. And I am proud that the Public Health Service has had a share in its expansion, both through Hill-Burton and research facilities grants. The most recent provisions for the University Hospital School of Nursing and a psychiatric unit will greatly extend the center's usefulness. The generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Spain also has provided the stimulus for the creation of a rehabilitation unit which will broaden the center's mission to encompass the restorative phase of comprehensive health care.

Facilities, however, are only the beginning. I would urge the legislature to scrutinize closely the personnel and operating needs of all State health facilities and programs. Professional personnel in all categories are in short supply. The Public Health Service, even with generous congressional support for its own operations, is feeling the competition for highly qualified personnel.

The relatively low cost of living in some States does not offer a sufficient incentive to attract and hold qualified professional health workers on salaries substantially lower than they can command elsewhere. This harsh fact is reflected in the staffing difficulties of Alabama's medical center and her health departments—State and local.

I do know that its salary program is not only low on the national scale, but also substantially below that of similar institutions in nearby States. Further, Alabama—with a slowly growing population—has not improved the professional and technical staffing of her health departments over the past 10 years. Between 1951 and 1960, the ratio of health department staffs to population increased from 18 to 21 per 100,000 for the Nation as a whole. Other States in this region went ahead to a rate of 24 per 100,000, whereas Alabama remained at the 1951 level of 18.

I have mentioned earlier Alabama's low physician-population ratio. The State is not much better off in her supply of dentists and the shortage of professional nurses is well-nigh desperate. A month or two ago, I appointed a special advisory committee to analyze the nationwide situation in nursing so that we may report the educational needs in that field to President Kennedy.

I realize that Alabama is facing problems of great magnitude in all fields of public responsibility—health, education, welfare, agriculture, industrial development, and others. The State's economy is sound, however, and I would bespeak the legislature's earnest consideration of the health problems and needs I have discussed.

The Nation's medical centers, hospitals, and health departments cannot carry out the missions for which they were created without solid, sustained support. Nor can governments and private organizations afford the wastefulness of inadequate health resources and mounting disability.

These challenges confront the entire Nation. We need to move forward now—in a concerted effort to increase national health resources. Buttressed by an expanding research effort in all fields, our facilities, personnel, and organizations should be able to provide for the American people all the comprehensive health care, all the protection against environmental hazards that science affords.

I am confident that America's health needs will be met. But it is up to the Nation's leaders at all levels of government to pick up the challenge wherever public responsibility is a factor in meeting the needs. The health professions can identify the needs. They can point out the great oppor-



tunities for health progress. They can deliver the services. They can suggest ways to improve efficiency. But they cannot provide the means. For the decisive actions, the people depend upon the wisdom and vision of their elected representatives in their legislative bodies. Let it not be said that the world's richest Nation in all history failed to meet the people's health needs.

### Progress on California's State Water Project

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in California, construction in earnest is getting underway on the State water project. Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown has thrown the full weight of his leadership behind this great undertaking, a unified project costing \$1.75 billion, to bring excess waters from northern streams into parched, growing southern California. Governor Brown has correctly described this project as a unifying force, and as such in the years to come the project may have as notable an influence on the political development of California as it certainly will have on the State's economic growth.

Water users from the Last Chance Creek Water District in Sierra Valley of Plumas County in the upper Feather River vastnesses to those of the Helix Irrigation District of southern San Diego County will have parallel interests in operations of this farflung project. These two and many others are expected to be served by features of the project. Small agencies and the great Metropolitan Water District of Southern California will similarly be drawn together in a common activity. These common activities and concerns are certain to provide a community of interest now lacking and will help offset regional suspicions and jealousies within the State.

At Governor Brown's suggestion, Director William E. Warne, of the California Department of Water Resources, which is building the California water project, recently organized the State water project service agency council. This council is made up of representatives of agencies that have contracted for services from the California water project and it will meet once each month. At the first meeting only two agencies were represented, the Metropolitan Water District and the San Bernardino Valley Municipal Water District, the two with which water contracts have so far been completed. Mr. Warne reports that negotiations are advancing with many other agencies, and each of these will be admitted to this council as the contracts are signed.

The council will receive progress and other reports from the department of water resources and advise with the department. The contractors will repay the full costs of the project and, therefore, Governor Brown has said, have a

current and continuing interest in the progress of the work.

Director Warne has prepared a series of articles now appearing in California newspapers on California water problems and programs.

I should like to call attention to the one dealing with "The State Water Project."

It follows:

#### THE STATE WATER PROJECT

(By William E. Warne director, department of water resources, Sacramento, Calif.)

The voters of California adopted the State Water Project and authorized issuance of \$1,750 million bonds to finance its construction at the election on November 8, 1960.

This was the action that in the future will be hailed as marking the crucial change in the course of the State, for it opened an era in which California, herself, attacked her own essential problems, not leaving the development of water supplies needed for growth to scrambling local agencies or Federal agencies oriented to specialized programs, such as flood control or reclamation.

The State water project is the initial stage of construction adopted from the California Water Plan. As presented by Gov. Edmund G. Brown last fall to the voters, it covers the whole State. It is designed to meet the needs of growing California until 1990. Beyond that date 30 years from now another project will have to be provided.

The State water project consists of:

Big Oroville: When constructed it will be the world's highest dam. Its huge reservoir will impound surplus Feather River water for power, flood control, and for conveyance to semiarid central and southern California. It will provide an additional 275,000 acre-feet of water annually for irrigation in the Feather River service area. Waters from this reservoir, released to the Delta in periods of low San Joaquin-Sacramento River runoff will also help prevent saline water intrusion in the Delta.

Five upstream dams in the Feather River drainage area—Antelope Valley Dam, construction of which will get underway soon, and the Dixie Refuge and Abbey Bridge Dams, are in the Indian Creek recreation project. These reservoirs are primarily for recreation purposes. They will also aid stream flow maintenance. The Frenchman Dam, to be completed this year, and the Grizzly Valley Dam will also provide stream flow maintenance and recreation. They will irrigate the Sierra Valley.

Delta project: A key work of the statewide water development program, it will repel sea water and will salvage from loss to the sea 2 million acre-feet of fresh water annually, which can be transported to semiarid regions. Recreational, agricultural, and industrial development benefits will also accrue to the area.

California aqueduct: One of the most spectacular features of the State water project will be this conveyance system to move surplus northern waters through the central valley and over the Tehachapis to the Southern Coastal Plains, providing new water supplies to areas of need en route, including Kern County farmlands.

North Bay aqueduct: Another authorized State project, this 60-mile aqueduct will move surplus Delta waters through Napa and Sonoma Valleys to Marin County, providing for irrigation, domestic, and industrial needs along the way.

South Bay aqueduct: This project is under construction, and is designed to transport surplus Delta waters to Alameda, Contra Costa and northern Santa Clara Counties. It is expected to deliver water to Livermore Valley next year.

Coastal aqueduct: This 131-mile aqueduct will carry water from the California aqueduct at Arenal Gap across the Salinas Valley

and terminate in the Santa Maria Valley, providing irrigation, domestic, and other needs in the central coastal area. A feature of this project will be the pumping lifts to carry the water through the coastal range.

San Joaquin master drain: This facility will carry brackish drainage waters from the valley to prevent pollution of valuable ground water basins.

Upstream and small projects disassociated from the central facilities in the amount of \$130 million: These are projects of the type that are authorized in the so-called Davis-Grunsky Act. They provide the protection needed to assure that emergent needs of less developed areas will not be overlooked.

Much has been said of the State water project. Governor Brown has rightfully described it as a unifying force, one project for one State, a tonic for California, torn by regional differences. There is hope that operation of the project will prove helpful in healing old scars of the 20 years of controversy that preceded it.

Opponents of the Burns-Porter Bond Authorization Act charged that the project would cost more than the estimate, that the general treasury would have to be called upon to supplement the funds, that the south would benefit at the expense of the north.

One thing is certain. California must have the project. It is already late, and the needs likely will become urgent before the project is completed, even should it be possible to adhere to the extremely tight construction schedule that is expected to put water in Perris Reservoir in Riverside County in 1972.

Every great project that I have been connected with or observed closely, the Central Valley project in California; the Columbia Basin project in Washington State; the Tennessee Valley Authority; even the Boulder Canyon project on the Colorado River, has been highly controversial at the outset. Passions have run high over the contentions made concerning them. As such projects move on through the construction stage they capture the imagination of the public. The sight of truly great works underway inspires people and doubts fall away. In the operation stages such projects gain complete approval, and old controversies are replaced by new loyalties. Such projects become a part of the fabric of our lives and to the new generation it seems unthinkable that they were ever opposed.

I predict that it will be so also with the State water project. In 1990, when a controversy will be rising over a new project to follow this one, it will be impossible to persuade most Californians that the original State water project ever excited hot words and opposition. By then this project will have become indispensable to a new and better way of life. The next new project proposed at that time will be unfavorably compared by its opponents with the State water project.

But the next new project by then also will be essential and cannot be postponed.

So let us build the State water project in good spirit now.

### Dead Wrong in 1951 and Still Wrong

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, since the Dr. Walter W. Heller referred to in the



following article is Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers and is, as the author states, "probably the Government's top economic strategist," the article takes on added significance. It should be read by every Member of Congress and for this reason I include it as a part of my remarks. This article was written by William H. Peterson, Ph. D., associate professor of economics, New York University, and appeared in the July 18, 1961, issue of *Christian Economics*, under the title "Dead Wrong in 1951 and Still Wrong":

**DEAD WRONG IN 1951 AND STILL WRONG**

(By William H. Peterson, Ph. D., associate professor of economics, New York University)

It hardly seems reasonable that an American professor of economics who was dead wrong in his prescription for the future of West Germany 10 years ago should now be permitted to prescribe for the United States in 1961 the same wrong medicine which he prescribed for Germany in 1951 and which was then summarily and most fortunately refused.

This strange story, based on a report kept under wraps these many years until at last broken open by Lawrence Fertig, economic and financial writer for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, concerns the recommendations made to the West German Government in 1951 by a team of American economists, one of whom was Dr. Walter W. Heller, presently Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers and probably the Government's top economic strategist.

The chairman of this economic team sent to Germany in 1951 by the State Department was Alvin H. Hansen, now professor of economics emeritus of Harvard and head of the Keynesian school of thought in America, and who, in the 1930's proclaimed the stagnation thesis that the American economy had come pretty much to the end of the road, to which the major answer was massive Government spending and deficit financing and which utterly failed to break the grip of the great depression. He, incidentally, is also the man who taught two other members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers: Dr. James Tobin and Dr. Kermit Gordon.

So, armed with all the ill-designed, forever-misfiring weapons of Keynesian interventionism, the Hansen-Heller team in 1951 tried to tell Dr. Erhard and Chancellor Adenauer how to run the West Germany economy—in a 400-page report.

This report expressed the opinion that the German economic machine, still rocketing upward in 1961, had bogged down in 1951 on a kind of low-level plateau and that "proper measures must be taken if the possibilities—of economic growth—are to be realized."

The bizarre report said that West Germany would never hit a high rate of industrial expansion if it was forever preoccupied with worries over inflation. The Hansen-Heller team told the West Germans that they should not "confuse wartime inflation with the normal operations of peacetime credit," that they should not manifest an "excessive concern for price stability," and that they had been "overly timid" in creating new credit.

The report specifically called for an easy money policy, arguing that "a rate of interest high enough to stimulate any large volume of personal savings would seriously curtail investment." The West Germans

nonetheless clung to one of the highest interest rates in all of Europe.

The State Department team further told the West German Government that tax concessions granted to industry, such as accelerated depreciation allowances, were being abused and that in any case they amounted to only "an expenditure of tax funds which would otherwise have been collected by the Government."

Accordingly, the Hansen-Heller team recommended a "compulsory investment program, under which the Government was to assess all industries for a special investment fund which the Government was to distribute where there was a "crying need for expansion." (The possibilities for graft and pork-barreling for votes under this scheme are staggering.)

The report also made the obiter dictum, completely disproved by events, that "the nostalgic hopes . . . looking toward a revival of the 19th century role of the capital market are doomed to disappointment. The capital market plays no such role in any modern country and there is no prospect that it will."

Such was the Keynesian philosophy and recommendations thrust on the West Germans in 1951, and earlier during the Allied Occupation from 1945 to 1948. Up to 1948, American economists, under General Lucius Clay, counseled the Germans to inflate their way out of the postwar depression that gripped war-torn West Germany. At one point, Economic Minister Ludwig Erhard threatened to resign if this view was to be forced on him and the German people. The Americans backed down, and Dr. Erhard took precisely the opposite course: the institution of a rock-hard currency, a strictly balanced budget, the stripping away of price and wage controls, the encouragement of private business (including the eventual denationalization of such Government enterprises as Volkswagen), the stimulation of private incentives to individuals and corporations to save and invest, the provisioning of acceleration allowances to induce the upgrading of West German plant and equipment, and an end to Government planning.

Erhard's prescription worked like a charm. History records the feat of Germany in emerging from the ruins and ashes of 1948 to become the strongest economy in Western Europe, despite the fact that it had to absorb millions of refugees fleeing communism, had to be dismembered into East and West, and had to be occupied by Four Powers. Yet West Germany surged past Great Britain which, under the Labor Party, had chosen a Keynesian-socialistic solution to postwar growth.

Lucky, too, for the West German people that the Hansen-Heller report was in effect consigned to the circular file. For nothing could be farther from sound government economic policy than the economic pronouncements of the Hansen-Heller team sent by the State Department to West Germany in 1951. Time and events have condemned those pronouncements and fully justified Dr. Erhard in refusing to accept them.

The West German capital market has been the talk of the financial world. Thanks to one of the highest interest rates in the world, savings and investment zoomed. Funds from all over the world have been attracted to West Germany. The West German trade surplus is substantial, the West German reichmark is rock-hard, the West German reserves amount to around \$80 billion, and West German unemployment is practically nil, and has been ever since the currency reform of 1948.

The dazzling story of the West German recovery as a result of turning his back on the Keynesian-socialistic report of the Hansen-Heller team is epitomized in this statement by the architect of the recovery—Dr. Erhard:

"The successful rehabilitation of my country must serve as clear documentary evidence to put before the still vacillating and doubting people of the world, of the fact that only by firmly rejecting Socialist dogmas, of whatever complexion, and by affirming a free economic order can mounting prosperity and genuine security be achieved. In a Europe which allowed the life of the individual to be dragged into ever more regimented collectives, the intellectual and spiritual powers would atrophy—powers that are vitally necessary in order to combat the infiltration, and also the many enticements, of the East."

So here are the philosophical choices in an industrial sense for America—the economics of Ludwig Erhard, the same economics which achieved the great economic growth for America since its founding, or the economics of Keynes, Hansen and Heller, the economics to be found in the 1951 State Department report which was rejected out of hand by the Adenauer-Erhard regime.

But the irony of this situation is that we are having thrust upon us now the Keynesian economics of the repudiated Hansen-Heller report, and by none other than a key member of the 1951 economic mission to West Germany, Walter W. Heller, the chief economic adviser to the President.

**Statistics of Questionnaire Sent to New Jersey Constituents**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF**

**HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, recently I mailed a lengthy questionnaire to 60,000 constituents eliciting their views on important issues.

The response of over 12,000—over 20 percent—was remarkable, as it is well known that a 10-percent figure is a usual return.

On most questions asked, the views expressed were clear cut, the percentages weighing heavily in favor of or against a proposal. On a few the majorities in one column were less persuasive, but equally interesting.

The district which I have had the privilege of representing in the House of Representatives since 1950 offers a healthy cross section of American life, with rural, industrial, farm, and suburban areas, moderately large cities and tiny hamlets, regions of considerable wealth and low-income areas.

Because the Seventh District of New Jersey is so representative of the country as a whole in the backgrounds and occupations of its residents, I feel readers of the *RECORD* will find considerable interest in the statistics of this poll reproduced below:

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you believe Communist China should be recognized by the United States?	20	78.25	3.75
2. Do you believe the competition of low cost Chinese made goods would provide jobs for Americans?	7.5	85	7.5
3. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States to assist school construction?	61.5	37.5	1
Should such aid be based on need? (Of those favoring aid for construction, 94 percent favor basing aid on need.)	57.5	15	27.5
4. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States for teachers' salaries?	25	73.5	1.5
5. Should there be Federal aid to parochial schools?	20.74	78.26	1
6. The hourly minimum wage is \$1. Do you favor an increase, and if so, which do you favor?			
\$1.15			Percent
\$1.25			25.0
Other			42.5
No increase			15.0
Other			17.5
7. Do you favor trading butter and other surplus products to the Soviet bloc for strategic materials?	50	46.25	3.75
8. Do you favor continuance of the House Un-American Activities Committee?	81.25	15	3.75
9. Do you favor an increase in 1st-class postage rates?	42.5	55.75	1.75
10. Do you favor an increase in 2d- and 3d-class postage rates?	70	28.25	1.75
11. Should we give the President the right to accept or veto specific items in appropriation bills so that he might disapprove specific appropriations? (Now he has to accept all or nothing.)	67.5	27.5	5
12. Do you favor a Federal program of medical aid for the elderly?	72.5	21.25	6.25
Through Federal aid to States, each State to administer the program on the basis of need?	50.5	49.5	
Through social security?	62.5	37.5	
13. Should the United States establish a West Point type academy for diplomats?	77.75	20	2.25
14. Do you favor enactment of a Federal so-called "fair trade" law permitting manufacturers to set minimum prices throughout the country?	25	72.5	2.5
15. Do you believe we should agree to further land concessions to the Communist Chinese in the Straits of Formosa (Quemoy, Matsu)?	7.5	87.5	5
16. Do you favor competitive development of atomic energy by private enterprise for commercial purposes?	86.25	10	3.75
17. Should we continue the mutual security program of military and economic assistance to friendly nations?	81.25	15	3.75
18. Do you favor retaining the Connally amendment of 1946 (U.S. right to determine which issues are rightly the province of this country to settle and not subject therefore to the jurisdictions of the International Court)?	70	12.5	17.5
19. Do you favor lowering the voting age to 18?	23.25	75	1.75
20. Do you favor a peacetime veterans educational benefits program, similar to the postwar GI bill of rights?	41.25	57.5	1.25
21. Do you favor elimination of crop restrictions to permit a farmer to grow sufficient foodstuffs on his own farm for consumption by livestock being raised on the same farm?	87.5	6	6.5
Should feed grain be subsidized?	12	75	13
22. Should there be a reduction of Federal Government competition with privately owned business and industry?	77.5	18.75	3.75
23. Should we abolish the affidavit of nonmembership in subversive organizations (loyalty oath) from the National Defense Education Act?	12.5	82.5	5
24. Do you favor Federal aid to depressed areas?	85	12.5	2.5
(a) By loans			Percent
By grants			67.5
(b) To industrial areas?			17.5
(c) To rural areas?			
25. Do you favor raising the \$1,200 limit on earnings in order for one to be eligible for social security benefits?	73	10	17
To \$1,800			Percent
To \$2,400			25
No change			35
Unlimited			13.75
Others			8.75
26. Should the public housing program be continued and enlarged?	50	43.5	6.5
27. Do you believe in the proposed Peace Corps program?	55	37.5	7.5

### Echo's Birthday Emphasizes Value of Private Enterprise

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Tribune, San Diego, Calif., of August 11, 1961:

#### ECHO'S BIRTHDAY EMPHASIZES VALUE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Echo I, the U.S. earth satellite balloon, will mark its first year in space tomorrow morning—4,480 orbits and 138,136,000 miles after its launching last August 12 by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

This birthday emphasizes the importance of America's vast private enterprise communications system.

The Echo project was the brainchild of Dr. John Robinson Pierce, a 51-year-old research director at Bell Telephone Laboratories.

The 100-foot balloon, still visible at times in the evening sky over San Diego, demonstrated the practical possibilities of satellite communications. Although originally expected to remain aloft only a few weeks, it

is still capable of bouncing back radio and television waves to earth.

This is just one of many communications advances made by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and its associated companies in the Bell System.

This system of private enterprise research and development made a major breakthrough with transistors in 1948. The application of this discovery is a prime factor in America's superiority in missile and satellite instrumentation, miniaturization, and reliability.

For the public, transistors have brought an array of useful products from pocket radios to lightweight hearing aids.

Bell pioneered another significant development with the solar battery in 1955. This invention converts sunlight to electrical energy. It is being used in space, and experimentally for phone service in remote areas of the earth.

Western Electric, manufacturing and supply unit of the Bell System, coordinates management services on SAGE (Semi-Automatic Ground Environment) construction—part of our vast air defense system.

Our Distant Early Warning system—the DEW line—is another example of America's private communications systems working with the military for national defense.

Bell Laboratories is developing the Nike-Zeus system for defense against long-range missiles.

All of this has been going on apace with the expansion of domestic communications services. At the end of 1945, the Bell System included, exclusive of private line telephones, 22.4 million phones. As of December 31, 1960, this number was 60.7 million phones.

We talkative Americans carried on an average of 90.5 million telephone conversations daily in 1945. Last year, the average of daily conversations was 219 million.

In addition, we have extended and improved our oversea communications for defense, commerce, and personal convenience far beyond anything that was comprehended 20 or 25 years ago.

These are merely highlights of communications progress touched off by old Echo's birthday tomorrow, 1,000 miles or so out in space.

But one can wonder where our defense effort, our scientific explorations, our national growth, would have been without the investments, the initiative and the imagination of our private enterprise communications industry.

We could not have found the answers in fragmented firms and centralized government control.

### Dedication of the U.S. Merchant Marine Chapel, King's Point, Long Island, N.Y.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address



by John S. Stillman, Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, at the dedication of the U.S. Merchant Marine Chapel, at King's Point, Long Island, N.Y., May 1, 1961:

REMARKS OF JOHN S. STILLMAN, ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE CHAPEL, AT KING'S POINT, LONG ISLAND, N.Y., MAY 1, 1961

Reverend clergy, Admiral McIntock, Congressmen, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General, visiting officers, distinguished guests, cadets, faculty, alumni, and friends of King's Point, I deeply appreciate the honor of participating in this dedication of the U.S. Merchant Marine Memorial Chapel. I do feel somewhat outranked as an inactive naval reserve lieutenant commander, but I am here not as an individual but as a representative of the Secretary of Commerce, Luther H. Hodges, and of the President.

I am particularly pleased at the presence today of a number of interested Members of Congress. Congressman GARMATZ, of Maryland, is representing the House Merchant Marine Committee and its chairman, Congressman BONNER. I wish to speak particularly, however, of Congressman EUGENE KROGH, of Brooklyn, who served many years on this committee and was a member of the Academy's Board of Visitors.

We are here today to honor the bravery of the men of the Merchant Marine who have given their lives for their country in the cause of freedom. Appropriately, today, May 1, is also "Law Day," and has been especially set aside as a time to reflect on the true meaning of our constitutional form of government and great legal system—another bulwark of our Nation's freedom.

There is little we could do or say here that would in any manner add to the glory of the gallant dead of the American Merchant Marine who "gave their last full measure of devotion" to the service of their country. Religion and faith are strong in most who follow the sea. I know from personal experience; at no time in my life have I attended church services as regularly as during the 3 years I served on a cruiser in the Pacific in World War II. There is no better time for prayer than when alone with the stars on a long midwatch, or watching the delicate colors of a new day dawning on the 4 to 8. I know what it meant to the 1,300 men of the ship on which I served when a beautiful triptych altar painting was received on board.

This chapel will provide a place for all those who seek divine guidance in carrying through their appointed tasks.

This memorial, in lasting stone, brick, and mortar, symbolizes, in some small measure, the permanence of our debt to those men of all faiths, all races, all religions—yes, of no religions, as well—who sailed the seas in an hour of our country's peril, never to return.

No member of the military services excelled in bravery the merchant seamen who manned the privateers of our early days as a nation, or the brave men who served on the Murmansk convoys, who braved Stuka attacks at the Anzio beachhead, who were hit by Bettys, Vals, and Zeros off Guadalcanal, or by Kamikazes off Okinawa. Any of those who lost their lives in these engagements deserve equal honor with the Unknown Soldier—or any of the other honored dead at Arlington or our other great national cemeteries.

Let this chapel in some measure symbolize to the Merchant Marine what Arlington does to the armed services. As so many of them were lost at sea, or received a sailor's burial in the deep, they have no headstone or cemetery memorial.

Those we honor here today have been properly described as men whom "Fate could not defy, nor death dismay."

Never has that old cliché about the change from "wooden ships and iron men" to "iron ships" and something else, been less appropriate.

Our men are now expected to be more than men of iron. In this age of automation and mechanization, which is desirable as well as inevitable, we expect men of tempered steel who are ready to assume added burdens and responsibility and will do their utmost for the national welfare. Your Federal Government and the Commerce Department in particular, is vitally interested in a healthy merchant marine and superior morale on the part of crew, officers, and management.

The men of our merchant marine were pioneers in the constant and continuing struggle for freedom in the world. The bodies of those we honor today rest in the peaceful deep of many seas, but their spirit lives on here in this chapel, admonishing us that to remain free we must stay alert and we must stay strong.

The words of Abraham Lincoln, spoken at another dedication 100 years ago, come to mind on this occasion—"It is for us, the living, here to dedicate ourselves to the proposition that these hallowed dead shall not have died in vain."

We must here dedicate ourselves to the proposition that we, too, will, if need be, give that last full measure of devotion, to assure that under God mankind shall have the opportunity to live in peace and freedom. Let this chapel stand as a symbol of the supreme sacrifice of these brave men in the cause of freedom—and let us dedicate it to the memory of their fortitude and valor.

President Kennedy probably came as close to death at sea as anyone here, when the PT boat he commanded was rammed and sunk in Blackett Strait by a Japanese destroyer. Thus it is uniquely appropriate that he should personally send us a message on this occasion of such deep significance:

I quote the President:

"It is fitting that the Inter-Faith Chapel in memory of the American seamen of all faiths who gave their lives at sea be established at King's Point.

"Erected to the glory of God, this edifice commemorating the memory of these men will stand as a national monument on the grounds of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy where young Americans prepare to serve their country in the American Merchant Marine.

"Our Nation has ever sought divine guidance in its hours of thanksgiving and its moments of peril.

"On the high seas, between heaven and the deep, men of all faiths feel a sense of brotherhood with the infinite.

"May this chapel ever inspire those who pause here to dedicate themselves to the service of their fellow men."

### Officeseekers Frightened by Minority Blocs

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the Members of this body an editorial which appeared in the August 6 issue of the Metropolitan Herald, a very fine community weekly newspaper that is published in Atlanta.

The editorial, which is entitled "Officeseekers Frightened by Minority Blocs," speaks for itself:

#### OFFICESEEKERS FRIGHTENED BY MINORITY BLOCs

There was a time when parents threatened unruly offspring with the possibility of the "bogy man getting you," or "we'll tell the police on you if you don't be good," or "Santa Claus won't leave you anything if you aren't a good little boy."

These are changing times in America. While children have apparently gotten smarter, politicians seemingly are becoming frightened. Today, all you have to do to scare an officeseeker right out of his skin is to threaten him with the NAACP, CORE or some other colored pressure group.

Never before have minority groups in America used their threats to obtain as much undeserved political influence as have the agitators who carefully manipulate and publicize the rowdy, loud-mouthed activities of the current day race-pressure groups.

The fear of reprisals has become so great until there is serious possibility of law and order being completely broken down in some sections of this country.

In New York, for instance, city police officers walk their beats in constant fear of being set upon by cowardly, but highly dangerous roving street gangs and ruthless mobs, the large percentage of which are composed of Negro rowdies, hopped up by narcotics, alcohol, or other artificial stimulants.

This situation has high police officers badly worried. The attempts of the officers to protect themselves and maintain law and order by use of equal physical force brings out loud, united, highly organized and well publicized threats by NAACP and other racial-agitation groups, demanding cessation of police brutality and that punishment be meted out to the offending officers.

This is probably the silliest of the lines being followed by the closely knit, closely allied agitation groups in their apparent efforts to cause a complete breakdown of law and order in America. It reminds us of the Communist tactic of demanding rights under our Constitution, every time their shrewdly laid plans are upset by true Americanism and then hiding behind their constitutional rights every time they are cornered and brought before the bar of justice.

These tactics have paid, and are still paying, big dividends to the brains behind the scheme, dividends received in the way of political favors and power.

When you consider the fact that there are almost 10 white people to every colored person in these United States (last census, white—157,290,000 to colored—19,813,000) it becomes most apparent that this country is, just as has been the case in past history, being controlled by a well organized, highly efficient, small group of propagandists. It furnishes food for serious thought.

History will reveal the fact that in every case where the minority of the population took over and ruled the majority, it was the real beginning of the end for that country as a world power.

That was true in ancient Rome, when the rulers became fat and "drunk with power." To a degree it worked out to that end in the South, when the minority, the plantation owners were forced to fight the majority, and the results were disastrous to the Confederacy.

It could be in the making for Communist Russia, when a small minority are actually strict followers of the party line. It could be a possibility this country faces unless we awaken to the cold facts that the majority is being taken for a ride as constant attacks are made on established law and order and rules and regulations, designed to govern all the people.



**Berlin, Violation of Principles****EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF****HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 23, 1961*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, despite the bold, brave words of President Kennedy and his administration, I have the feeling that we are retreating in Berlin.

Secretary of State Rusk constantly talks about the necessity of negotiations. Mr. Nehru, who has just come out for the Soviet position on the Berlin matter, was recently visited by our Assistant Secretary of State Bowles with the avowed purpose of winning him over to our side. Obviously, Mr. Bowles has met with his usual degree of success on this subject.

Are we, in the United States of America, set to appease again?

What about our principles of freedom and liberty, upon which this Nation was founded, and for which we have fought?

In today's New York Herald Tribune, David Lawrence tells us of the flight of 17 million human beings in East Germany who are about to be abandoned by the West, if the attitude of this administration of "we don't want to hurt the feelings of the Soviet Union" prevails:

TODAY IN WORLD AFFAIRS: BOTH WEST AND U.N. SEEN FLOUNDERING IN EAST GERMANY  
(By David Lawrence)

IN EUROPE, August 22.—Western diplomacy is floundering. It hasn't come up with a solution as to the policy it should pursue. But the simple fact is that more than 17 million human beings in East Germany have just been imprisoned in a huge concentration camp by order of the Soviet Government. They cannot see their relatives or friends who happen to live even just across the streets of the same city. They are sent to jail for looking at a bulletin board giving news of the world.

Meanwhile, the great organization known as the United Nations is floundering, too. It is supposed to be interested in violations of human rights. It is supposed to be concerned when there is a threat to world peace. The U.N. has special meetings when there is a crisis, but it is doing nothing about the Berlin problem. It is strangely silent as the many erstwhile champions of freedom and human liberty hesitate to use the forum to expose to the world the hypocrisies of Soviet colonialism.

**JUST ONE NEWS ITEM**

There is no question about the violation of human rights. Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON went to Berlin to tell the people there of America's moral support. President Kennedy, in a message to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, said the closing of East Berlin border restricting the movement of refugees underlined the struggle "for the protection of freedom, for human rights and for the principle of the self-determination of peoples." But here is a Reuters News Service item of Monday of this week:

"An East Berlin court jailed five men for terms ranging from 3½ years' hard labor to 8 months' imprisonment. They were arrested August 13 and 14 when demonstrat-

ing near the sector border against the East German border controls."

When an electric sign was erected in West Berlin a few days ago to carry in big letters the news of the world, persons in East Berlin who tried to read it from a distance were arrested for demonstrating. East Berlin police have started, moreover, to move families out of houses which look out on West Berlin streets.

The instances cited are but a few of the many evidences of cruelty and inhumanity imposed on the East German people. If they had been "freedom riders" they might have gotten sympathy in certain parts of the world. If they had been Tunisians in North Africa, they would have been applauded for exercising their right to self-determination. Indeed, Tunisia is a member of the U.N. and states her case, but the West German Republic isn't. The Soviet Union keeps out the West Germans.

There is beginning to develop in different parts of Europe an impression now that the Western governments fear the Moscow Government's power and influence and that they feel it is risky even to debate the Berlin problem in the United Nations, where the Communists have lined up a sizable bloc in the last few years.

Brave words are uttered in the press about the sympathy of the U.S. Government for the East German people, but there are no signs that the Western governments are ready to make an issue of the flagrant violation of human rights in East Germany. It is vaguely hinted that the legalisms of the wartime agreements about Berlin some day will be negotiated or brought to the United Nations for debate, but the obvious issue—the human rights question—seems to have been side-tracked altogether as a basis for action in either the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations, or both.

The two major political parties in West Germany have called for a U.N. debate on the Berlin issue. Mayor Brandt of West Berlin appealed personally by letter to President Kennedy to ask for action by the United Nations. Chancellor Adenauer said to the West German Parliament a few days ago:

"He who tramples the right of self-determination with his feet must count on the deep contempt of all the people in the world who respect the Charter of the United Nations. There is only one possibility in placing Soviet-German relations on a new basis: the German people must be given the right to form a free and independent government that can speak and act for the whole German nation."

What cause could be more pertinent to world progress and world peace than the right of 17 million human beings to decide for themselves by whom and how they shall be governed? One wonders why the Western governments are shying away from the basic issue. By so doing, they may lose the prestige they have always enjoyed as champions of human liberty and freedom.

**It's Time We Do Something About  
Spending****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 18, 1961*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Dallas Morning News makes a pertinent point about

our Federal debt. We owe a lot more than we admit and it is time something is done to cut down our spending. I commend this editorial for your serious consideration:

**WE OWE MORE THAN WE KNOW**

The military budget of the United States now is \$46 billion. That is about \$6 billion more than the total national debt accumulated and unpaid up to 1930. Granting that we must spend whatever is needed to defend the Nation, such record costs call for review of the overall financial situation.

When the Federal debt reached \$40 billion in the 1930's, a New Dealer, the late Jerome Frank, remarked that there was no cause for worry. The time to worry, he added, would be when the Nation owed \$300 billion. That time has come.

Even this large national debt is only part of the total taxpayers owe. Tax Foundation, Inc., says that States owe about \$18 billion more and local governments \$51 billion. The total governmental debt of over \$355 billion (figuring the U.S. debt at only \$286 billion) increased \$7 billion from 1959 to 1960. Four billion dollars of this was in local government debts.

This amounts to about \$6,400 owed per family in the United States, and that is not all.

The Federal Government has vast financial commitments and guarantees not included in the national debt. Uncle Sam has promised to pay you social security. He has guaranteed your FHA or Veteran's Administration mortgage on the house. He insured your bank account. These are financial obligations, as are many other guarantees and loans in agriculture, business, and other fields.

No one can foretell how much Uncle Sam will have to pay, but the Magazine of Wall Street recently estimated that these obligations, in addition to the national debt, may total almost \$150 billion.

These obligations are increasing, not diminishing. For one example, Federal Housing Administration guarantees total about \$41 billion for the 1962 budget. If they continue to rise as they have recently, they will exceed \$100 billion by 1970.

Interest, alone, on the national debt now is about \$9 billion yearly. As debts rise, or inflation forces higher rates, interest obviously must rise.

Now is the time to worry, and to do something about it.

**Remember This Incident****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 23, 1961*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Ramona Sentinel of August 17, 1961:

**REMEMBER THIS INCIDENT**

Every American has a political philosophy, no matter how vigorous or how bland. I have my philosophy too, and, such as it is, it has evolved from observation and reason, not from practical experience. I would be the first to admit that I know nothing at all about pure politics—its theory and practice. However, I am a willing pupil and will en-



deavor to comprehend the subject whenever someone will expend the effort to teach me.

Last Wednesday I had the distinction and opportunity to become more informed on the subject from a ranking official in the Democratic Council for the County of San Diego. In my opinion, a more capable teacher would be difficult to find. I can say, without false modesty, that I now know infinitely more about party politics than ever before. I would like to share something of what I learned with the readers of this column. Perhaps they will find the information of value.

First, the gentleman informed me that Mr. Drown, our acting postmaster, is being let out—definitely—and Mr. Drown received word the same day from the kind gentleman. It seems that our postmaster is a registered Republican and, of course, the county Democrats can't have that. This writer knows for certain that Mr. Drown voted for State Senator CLAIR ENGLE (Democrat) when he ran for office—in fact, I recall that he asked others to vote for ENGLE at that time. Senator ENGLE will not confirm Drown's appointment. Lesson No. 1—Democratic State Senators are not concerned with the needs of the people who voted for them, but only what best serves the Democratic Party. This is called devotion to duty.

A Ramona Democrat approached the county democratic committee a month ago to plead Mr. Drown's cause. She was asked, "If Ramona people want to retail Mr. Drown why don't they speak out for him? We haven't heard a word in his favor." Since that time a volume of mail from both Republican and Democratic ranks have been received by the committee office. I brought this fact to my visitor's attention. He replied that he was aware of the situation and said, "That's the trouble; Mr. Drown's friends have hurt him more than they have helped him. So much has been said, it has become a political issue, so we can't possibly appoint him now." Lesson No. 2—adopt a new argument for every situation—don't back down. This process is termed "singleness of purpose."

Further discussion with my Democratic friend revealed that he was in Ramona that day to feel out the community on the subject of Mr. Drown's appointment to permanent postmaster. In the same conversation he informed me that his superiors thought that a Democratic postmaster in Ramona would help the party gain strength in a conservative stronghold. And furthermore, the Democratic Congress would never accept Mr. Drown anyway. Lesson No. 3—create the impression that you are concerned with the ideas and desires of a group of people, having already set a plan in motion. This pure sham is all in fun, of course, and necessary in public relations. Also, whenever you feel it is appropriate, speak of your party as the one which champions the desires of the little people; or better still, call it the voice of the people.

My lesson served to prove that politics in practice are quite different from politics in theory—that the high ideals voiced on campaign platforms sometimes are different from what actually happens at the back door.

In cold perspective, here is the situation. By his own admission the representative from the County Democratic Council agrees that that move to deny Mr. Drown his justly earned position as postmaster is purely and simply political. The fact that Mr. Drown deserves the position after 24 years of faithful service to the Post Office Department, and by the demonstration of his ability to handle the position with competency, counts not at all. Neither does the fact that the community rose in response to the cause of Mr. Drown hold any importance to the Democratic Party.

In truth, the county committee is interested in one thing only—the placing of a Democratic postmaster to strengthen the party machine in Ramona—not greater efficiency, not faster service, not saving money, only a strong local machine is important. Is this the political party for Ramonans to support—one who ignores the wishes and feelings of the people they claim to represent? Remember this calculated, heartless, political maneuver. Remember what happened to Mr. Drown. Remember the party that took from him what was justly his—that is the Democratic Party, the party of ENGLE and Pat Brown. When Ramonans vote next year, it might be well for them to pause before casting their ballots to ask themselves if the Democratic Party is consistent with their ideals of government and justice. Pause, and remember what happened to our Mr. Drown.

### National Lottery of Israel

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to acquaint the Members of this House with the national lottery of Israel. The Israeli lottery operation is not particularly extensive, but it is nevertheless a quite significant achievement.

In 1960, the gross receipts of the Israeli national lottery came to some \$14 million. The net income to the Government, earmarked solely for the construction of hospitals, policlinics and schools, exceeded \$4 million.

The struggle to establish a national lottery in Israel was not easily won—the United States does not have a monopoly on hypocrites. We might perhaps learn a lesson from the words of the director of the Israeli lottery—from his comments on the fight for an Israeli lottery.

"The Israeli lottery exists somewhat less than 9 years. During the period between the two World Wars, it was the Jewish population in Europe which, due to its insecure economic position, was the major buyer of lottery tickets there. In spite of this fact, it took a few years after the declaration of the State of Israel, before the Government and public circles consented to the organization of a lottery in Israel. This reluctance was probably due to the fact that the British, who were the mandatory power in the country for 30 years, considered any lottery as being uneducational. Incidentally, it is worth remarking that even the British are now beginning to abandon these principles, this quite apart from horseracing and betting which have always been considered acceptable by the English. The latter institutions are certainly no more ethical than lotteries under government control, whether or not part of normal government activity."

With these words, spoken before the Third International Congress of National Lotteries held in Tel-Aviv in 1960, Israel's lottery director hit the nail on the head. Israel, like Britain and other nations, has overwhelmed the hypocrites,

bluenoses and moralists. Is it not about time that we did the same—America needs a national lottery.

### Shelter Plan Could Use Redi-Wheat

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Agriculture announced last week that the Department of Agriculture has begun the development of a national defense food policy to enable the farmer to feed the American people in case of a nuclear war.

The first step taken by the Department is the proposal for a nationwide strategic reserve program to locate supplies of wheat in 191 metropolitan areas of 100,000 persons and over which are assumed by civil defense authorities to be target areas.

Under this plan the Department of Agriculture would move some 160 million bushels of wheat, along with temporary storage bins, into the target areas. The cost of this wheat relocation program would be approximately \$47.2 million.

While I favor immediate steps for the development of an effective national defense food program which will assure edible food supplies and water for the population, in case of war or disaster, I seriously question that aspect of the plan which would merely move raw wheat into metropolitan areas.

There has been considerable research by Department of Agriculture officials and by those associated with our food-for-peace program with processed wheat products. In my own State and particularly in my district, consumer tests have been conducted with a processed wheat product known as Redi-Wheat.

I understand that the food-for-peace program is sending a processed wheat product to Asia and Latin America because of its nutritive value and because it is easy to use. I suggest we demonstrate similar consideration for American citizens and consider the stockpiling of a processed wheat product—such as Redi-Wheat—rather than undertake an expensive program of moving raw wheat stores into target areas. If disaster should strike, it would be easier to distribute a product ready to use rather than depend upon mills which are likely to be destroyed, or upon the pains of hunger which would force the populace to use primitive methods of making raw wheat edible.

Another argument which should be advanced against the Secretary's proposal is that raw wheat is a highly perishable commodity. Wheat is prey to every form of rodent and quantities of species of bugs, to say nothing of heating, mildew and mold. It requires around-the-clock scrutiny with intricate machinery and trained personnel.



I agree with the Secretary that this is a "grim and humorless business" but one which requires more consideration before it is implemented.

Following is a pertinent editorial from the Wichita Evening Eagle and Beacon of August 19, 1961, and a copy of a letter from W. W. Graber, administrator of the Kansas Wheat Commission, to Secretary of Agriculture Orville J. Freeman, dated August 18, 1961, which discuss the possibility of utilizing processed wheat in the strategic reserve program:

**SHELTER PLAN COULD USE REDI-WHEAT**

In relation to the Kennedy administration's plan to store wheat in nearly 200 metropolitan areas as a safeguard against hunger in event of a nuclear war, Representative GARNER SHRIVER takes the sensible attitude that the program would be tragically short of civil defense needs unless the grain is processed.

Supporting the development of an effective national defense food policy, SHRIVER says our people are entitled to at least as much consideration as the peoples of Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere. We are providing hungry lands with processed or semi-processed cereal so it will be more attractive to them. That brings wheat into favor among peoples who have not used it.

As for our civil defense program, raw grain will be of little use unless each shelter was provided with a grinding apparatus of some sort. Even then the problem of provisioning the sheltered would be difficult.

"I believe," says SHRIVER, "the Agriculture and Defense Departments should consider the stockpiling of a processed wheat product such as 'Redi-Wheat' which has been developed by the Kansas Wheat Growers Association and the Kansas Wheat Commission."

Provisioning shelters with such a product, which has won considerable favor in American communities where consumers have tested it, would certainly go far toward keeping sheltered survivors fed while awaiting for the passing of the fallout menace.

Processing wheat on that scale, too, might well lead to an accumulation permitting export of surpluses to regions which are still to get acquainted with the cereal. The real potential of Redi-Wheat has not yet been tested in this country or in any other.

KANSAS WHEAT COMMISSION,  
Hutchinson, Kans., August 18, 1961.  
Hon. ORVILLE J. FREEMAN,  
Secretary of Agriculture, U.S. Department of  
Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY FREEMAN: I am writing you concerning the possibilities of stockpiling Redi-Wheat as survival food in strategic areas. Redi-Wheat was developed by the Federal Research Laboratory in Albany, Calif. The Kansas Wheat Commission and the Kansas Association of Wheat Growers are producing and distributing the product at this time. It has been market tested by Agricultural Marketing Service and has proven very acceptable. Mr. Haven Umstott with AMS in Washington, D.C., was in charge of vacuum, is very palatable, and has indefinite shelf life. It is produced from Hard Red Winter wheat. A good defense food should be immediately usable, available, nonperishable, and palatable. Redi-Wheat fills these requirements. If CCC stocks of wheat were made available, this would be-

come a very reasonably priced as well as convenient item to stockpile.

The stockpiling of wheat in strategic areas has merit, but an additional or supplemental stockpile of canned Redi-Wheat would greatly strengthen the position of the survivors because this food would be usable immediately and without processing. Processing facilities would more than likely become unusable in the event of an attack. Mr. Martin Garber, head of the school lunch program, Mr. James A. Hutchins, Jr., chief of direct distribution branch, Mr. Frank LaRoux, and Dr. James Ralph are acquainted with the product.

The Kansas Wheat Commission and the Kansas Association of Wheat Growers, as well as Great Plains Wheat, Inc. encourage you to seriously consider the possibilities of stockpiling Redi-Wheat for civilian defense. I am sending you some cans of Redi-Wheat, in the seasoned and unseasoned forms, to try.

Sincerely yours,

W. W. GRABER,  
Administrator.

**Attempts To Discredit Anti-Communist  
Movement in Southern California**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, the collectivist trend in this country is alarming many people. In southern California, wherein my district lies, many anti-Communist groups are doing a fine job of alerting freedom-loving Americans to the dangers of collectivism. Efforts to discredit these groups are discussed by Jack Moffitt in his column "The Cracker Barrel" which appeared in the August 4, 1961, issue of the Los Angeles Herald Express. I ask unanimous consent to have the column printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

**THE CRACKER BARREL**

EAGLE ROCK, August 4.—On July 21, 1961, Temple Wamaker, director of the State Department Office of Public Service, said in San Francisco that anti-Communist letter writers (in southern California) do what hundreds of Communist agents could not do in planting division and suspicions in the minds of Americans. Maybe that's good. Anti-Communists are suspicious of anyone who apologizes for the rape of women and girls, the liquidation of the clergy, and the enforced transportation of millions to Siberian slave labor camps that occurred when Russia took over the Baltic countries. They are suspicious of anyone who defends the sellout of China and Cuba. They are suspicious of the U.N.'s liquidation of the anti-Communist government of Croatia. They are suspicious of the transportation of 300 women of Tibet to Red China, a first step in genocide to absorb and eliminate the Tibetan people. Communist agents are for that. If they find anti-Communists at cross purposes with them, we are proud. It is too bad that southern Californians can do no more than write letters condemning these practices. But every such letter is a blow for human decency and southern Californians will keep on writing them even though Wamaker doesn't like to be bothered.

JACK MOFFITT.

**Neighbors Reaching for Bootstraps**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. ROBERT E. COOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 22, 1961

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, for the past several weeks the press has been carrying many stories about the recent action of the United States, as represented by the Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, at Punta del Este, Uruguay, which resulted in the United States and 19 Latin American countries signing an 8,000-word document to begin to implement President Kennedy's alliance for progress, designed to assist our southern neighbors in helping themselves.

The following editorial from the Geneva Free Press, Geneva, Ohio, states the case very well for the need for such action. As indicated in the editorial, what these Latin American countries need is capital equipment to get going in a vast program of education and to give them means to make the most of what they have. This is the object of alliance for progress:

**NEIGHBORS REACHING FOR BOOTSTRAPS**

A prime characteristic of the emerging people in the underdeveloped lands of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is impatience.

Trained for it or not, they want and are getting independence. And with it they want, in the fastest way possible, levels of living that will take them out of mass misery.

The task is monumental. It is being compounded by racing population gains that will add some 350 million to the underdeveloped countries by 1970, and many hundreds of millions more by year 2000.

Right now nearly half the globe's population is in the low-income category. The experts say the gap between these people and the "have" nations grow wider instead of narrower.

How much of the gap can be closed in the next years?

For Asia to compensate for its projected stupendous population growth and lift its poverty-ridden peoples just to European living standards (\$380 per capita per year), it would have to increase its aggregate income to 21 times its 1950 level.

For Latin America to achieve a similar living plane, it would have to boost its 1950 income eight times by 2000.

Notwithstanding the impatient dreams of these peoples, no sober realist imagines the gains will be anywhere near so great.

Paul Hoffman, head of the United Nations Special Fund, estimates that 90 of the 100 low income countries have sufficient resources to give themselves decent living standards.

Their difficulty is lack of nonhuman power and of technological competence.

We think of many of the backward lands as "agricultural." Yet the North American Continent, with far less population per square mile, produces a per-person farm output that averages 10 times as high as Asia's and 20 times higher than Africa's. These peoples suffer in the midst of potential plenty.

What they need above all is the capital equipment to get going and a vast program of education and technical training to give them the means to make the most of what they have.



Hoffman thinks that conservatively the underdeveloped nations need to train a million people as quickly as possible for top level government and business posts, middle range technical tasks, health services, teaching, and the like.

The task of human uplift is one for all the world. Even the Communists have a stake in seeing it succeed. If it were to fail, then the broad conquest they dream of would find them presiding over human misery almost beyond imagining.

### Nation's First Private Bomb Shelter?

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, in Shippensburg, Pa., a visitor will see a very unusual home. Built on the exact site of Fort Morris of Revolutionary fame, a greater deal of history surrounds the area.

The construction is unusual in that the design is a perfect octagonal. The description of the bomb shelter in the accompanying article should be of interest.

While I am not authorized to say this, I am certain any Member of Congress visiting that area in Pennsylvania, would be most cordially received by Mr. and Mrs. Goodhart and would be intrigued, as I was, with this home.

The article follows:

#### GOODHART HOME ON BULLS EYE THOUGHT TO BE NATION'S FIRST SHELTER HOUSE

The Wilber E. Goodhart home atop historic Bulls Eye in Shippensburg is thought to contain the first bomb shelter provision in the Nation.

This statement is made in view of more recent claims that other communities have such "firsts." In June of this year, the Pittsburgh Press announced in an advertisement by the builder that new homes were being built in the Pleasant Hills section of that city which were called by the builder as "the Nation's first home to be constructed with a built-in shelter for protection in the event of nuclear attack."

The Goodhart home pre dates the Pittsburgh homes by almost 5 years. It was started April 5, 1954—just 200 years to the day when Fort Morris was started.

#### DESIGN OVER 5-YEAR PERIOD

The designing of the home to be erected on the historic site went on over a period of 5 years previous to the 1954 date. The designers were Wilber E. Goodhart, his wife, Mildred, and son, W. Edward. The home was built over a 3½-year period.

The home contains many innovations. To begin with it is an eight-sided home with a specially designed floor for heating and air conditioning. No windows open to the outside, all being thermopane which with the special insulations and conditioning keeps the house at 72° the year round.

The bomb shelter for the home was built first. It contains over 30 tons of 105-pound railroad rail, 30 cubic yards of concrete and 14 yards of filler stone. The railroad rail is welded with stainless steel all in one pad.

The entire home structure contains over 60 tons of steel. The bomb shelter has approximately 5,000 cubic feet of free space

and is equipped for toilet facilities and emergency light and power.

#### CONNECTED WITH CAVE

The shelter is connected to a limestone cave with 24-inch walls which has about 1,000 cubic feet of storage space for food and produce storage.

Mr. Goodhart says the bomb shelter part of the home was one of the original ideas when the home planning began in 1949, not too long after the conclusion of World War II.

"The planning period stretched out over 5 years because we kept getting newer and better ideas and revised earlier plans," Mr. Goodhart explains.

The home has three bedrooms, all key-stone shaped, a spacious kitchen, a utility room and a 52- by 20-foot living room.

Some of the design for the home comes from Mr. Goodhart's reading concerning the old blockhouse built on the site by the early settlers and soldiers.

#### SEVERAL ORIGINS

The Bulls Eye name is attached to various origins. Some say it was the window in the garrison house built on the place by Col. James Burd's men. Others say it refers to the crack marksmen who were stationed there and never missed the bull's eye.

The Bulls Eye garrison house was started in 1775 as protection against the Indians. Col. James Burd wrote in 1775 "We have 100 men working at Fort Morris with heart and hand every day. The town is full of people; five or six families in a house in great want of arms and ammunition, but with what we have we are determined to give the enemy as warm a reception as we can. Some of our people have been taken prisoner, but have made their escape . . ."

A News-Chronicle editorial of some years ago makes this comment concerning the site where the home is located: "From the Bulls Eye of Fort Morris the embattled settlers made, against overwhelming odds, a defense that saved Edward Shippen's settlement from extermination—made it possible, therefore, for people to live here today in quiet homes and at gainful pursuits."

#### STONE FROM LOG HOUSE

A large stone on which the cornerstone of the new home rests was taken from the old log house which once stood on the lot along Route 11, once known as the Great Virginia Road. This home was reportedly used as headquarters station for both armies during the Civil War period.

A threshold stone was obtained from the base of a 21-foot wall which was found at the back of the lot, about 41 feet from Martin Alley to the rear. This is thought to be the wall of the original garrison house of Fort Morris.

Mr. Goodhart is a veteran of World War I. He met his wife while he was stationed in England during that war. She is the former Isabella Mildred Kimpton of Chester, England. They have three children, Mrs. Winnifred Mills of Homestead Air Force Base, Fla., Mrs. Ursula Joan Crisswell of Chambersburg and W. Edward at home.

### San Diego: The Boston of the West

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, much has been written through

the years on San Diego, Calif. There recently appeared in the July 1961, issue of Fortune magazine, an advertisement entitled "The Southern California Story," by Frank McCulloch, one of the managing editors of the Los Angeles Times. The objective on the "Southern California Story" is to create awareness of the economic, climatic and cultural advantages of southern California as an area in which to locate a business or industry.

Included in this story is a section about San Diego, Calif., which is within my congressional district.

It gives me great pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress this article which depicts San Diego as "The Boston of the West" and describes well our people at work and at play.

I would commend the complete "Southern California Story" to the attention of everyone, but in particular I wish to insert herewith the section dealing with San Diego:

#### DOWN TO THE SEA

From the rich land on both sides of the border, thousands upon thousands of bales of high-quality cotton move into international commerce through one of the west coast's three natural deepwater ports. This is at San Diego, 120 miles to the west of the Imperial. Long the home of hundreds of the ships of the Pacific fleet and headquarters of the 11th Naval District, San Diego is now making a serious bid for west coast leadership in commercial shipping as well. If its newest waterfront improvement plans are carried out, the harbor will run from Point Loma to the Mexican border and its two deepwater entrances will lead ships of the world out onto 22 square miles of protected bay-water.

This deep bow to the sea is rooted in the history and traditions of San Diego, which, with considerable validity, is often called the Boston of the West. Like Boston, it has always had strong ties with the sea; like Boston, its intellectual capacity is enormous. Like Boston, its roots run far back into American history, for Juan Cabrillo sailed into San Diego Bay on September 28, 1542, only 50 years after Columbus discovered America. Like Boston, it is proud both of its history and of its cultural heritage. And like Boston, its space age and missile scientists represent one of the Nation's most important resources.

But unlike Boston, San Diego is a clean-scrubbed and gleaming white city, climbing gracefully up the gentle hills which roll back from its harbor. Unlike Boston, it basks the year-around in a climate that seldom sees the temperature depart from more than 10 degrees in either direction from 72. And unlike Boston, it is growing explosively.

#### YOUNG BUT WELL PAID

It is still a source of some astonishment to sociologists and economists that the median age of metropolitan San Diego's 1 million-plus residents is only 27.7 and that their per capita income is a healthy \$2,550. This is accounted for largely by the fact that a high percentage of them are scientists, technologists or otherwise highly skilled and trained personnel.

A very partial list of the companies for which they labor and the hardware they manufacture helps make clear why this is so. At the glittering \$30-million General Dynamics Astronautics (formerly Convair Astronautics) plant, they conceived built, tested and now turn out in assembly-line numbers this Nation's first operational in-



tercontinental ballistic missile and workhorse of the space program, the Atlas. At Ryan Aircraft, "The Spirit of St. Louis" was assembled for Charles Lindbergh in the not so very long ago and modern products have ranged from fighter planes that take off and land vertically to rockets and electronic equipment of the most advanced nature.

Rohr Aircraft is the Nation's biggest builder of powerbacks (engines) for aircraft and Solar Aircraft manufactures thousands of items for just about everything that flies, at least without feathers. Atomic reactors are built at General Dynamics' hub-of-the-wheel-shaped General Atomics plant, and General Dynamics Electronics, formerly Stromberg-Carlson, is a major producer of electronic goods and systems.

San Diego has been concerned with manned flight since one John J. Montgomery took the first ride (Austrian claims to the contrary notwithstanding) in a glider at nearby Otay away back in 1883. Yet for all the emphasis on avionics, San Diego is also the home of such down-to-earth enterprises as National Steel & Shipbuilding, the last important tuna fleet and cannery in the United States, and the San Diego Chargers of the American Football League, recently moved from Los Angeles.

#### THE THINK PALACES

San Diego's climate, natural and otherwise, has also encouraged a proliferation of what southern Californians unromantically have come to call "think factories" or "think palaces." These are research and development centers, looking for all the world like ultramodern college campuses and dedicated to the production not of hardware but of ideas. The John Jay Hopkins Laboratory, an adjunct of the General Atomic lab, is one such. So is the biological research center that Dr. Jonas Salk, discoverer of the polio vaccine bearing his name, will soon establish at San Diego. Biggest and oldest of all of them is the Naval Electronic Laboratory on Point Loma, where 1,300 scientists and technicians study and experiment in sonar, radar, and human behavioral characteristics. NEL scientists were the guiding geniuses of such recent triumphs as the 35,800-foot dive of the bathyscap *Trieste* (which belongs to NEL) near Guam last year, and the undersea polar cruises of the atomic submarines *Nautilus* and *Skate*.

Equally prominent in the field are the scientists and faculty members of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, whose buildings stretch along the Pacific surf in the rich and beautiful San Diego suburb of La Jolla. Scripps is now in the process of becoming a full-fledged campus of the farflung University of California, and 20,000 of the area's top scholars and researchers soon will work and study there. Perhaps twice that many more will study each year on such other campuses as San Diego State College and the University of San Diego.

#### ASPIRING TO CULTURE

The new University of California campus will be an integrated part of what is becoming an increasingly familiar hallmark of southern California development: the from-the-ground-up new city. University City, under the direction of a lawyer-turned-builder named Irvin J. Kahn and his associates, will house 100,000 people by 1970. And no resident need leave it, save possibly to go to work, whether for aspirin tablets or culture. Importance of University City was pointed out recently with its merger with MSL Industries, Inc., formerly the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway.

Nonetheless, Kahn is also helping lead a project to revitalize downtown San Diego. His 24-story office building, now under construction in the business district, is more evidence that southern California at long

last, has begun to push upward as well as outward. That the outward push still has momentum, however, is demonstrated by such in-progress programs as Sunset International Petroleum Co.'s planned construction of 8,000 homes across 4,000 acres of San Diego's San Carlos district.

Many a San Diegan will tell you that if he were forced to narrow a list of his city's attractions to one, he would settle on the zoo. For the San Diego zoo is truly one of the world's greatest, as charming and informative for adults as for kids and, in the best European tradition, as productive for scientific researchers as it is attractive for the kids. It is an important dish in a cultural-recreational smorgasboard which includes such varied items as a summer-long Shakespearean festival in an authentic Old Globe Theater, Equity player productions at the La Jolla Playhouse and new Circle Arts Theater, concerts under the stars in Balboa Bowl by the San Diego Symphony and Civic Light Opera, excellent skin diving and surfing, and one of the most beautiful of all metropolitan green belts, the 1,280-acre Balboa Park, in the heart of the city. Always farsighted San Diego plans to pour \$75 million into the development of another 4,500-acre park and recreational area on the shores of Mission Bay. Its marina alone will be three times the size of Newport Harbor, officials claim.

One of the city's most prominent scientists, Frederic de Hoffman, boss of General Atomics, summed up the situation this way: "In an environment such as this, it is not surprising that in 5 years we have lost only four or five of our top people. And of those, all but one simply moved a little farther up the California coast."

#### BACK, BACK, BACK

But San Diego County, or, more accurately, scientists in San Diego County, also know how to look back—back beyond the understandable, back so far man's mind boggles at the concept. They do this at the great Palomar Observatory, high up in the Cleveland National Forest, near the northern edge of the county. There, 2 years ago, California Institute of Technology astronomers discovered a galaxy three times more distant from earth than any other ever before known to man. At 186,000 miles a second, light from it takes 6 billion years to reach the earth. Among other things, the astronomers calmly tell the reeling visitor, this discovery established that the universe is 27 times larger than had previously been thought.

#### Magnificent Mitchell Plan

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Long Island Daily Press of August 22, 1961, on the plan to convert Mitchel Field into a cultural, educational and civic center.

In giving credit to all the individuals who made this accomplishment possible, the Long Island Daily Press and Long Island Star-Journal modestly omitted any mention of the very substantial part that these Newhouse newspapers played not only in spotlighting the problem, but in crusading for the results achieved.

This is far from the first time that these papers have spotlighted problems in and about our community, resulting in the very best accomplishments.

Mr. Speaker, this was, as you know, an excellent demonstration of the bipartisan efforts of the members of the Queens and Long Island delegation in Congress, and they certainly deserve the utmost credit.

The editorial follows:

#### MAGNIFICENT MITCHELL PLAN

The plan unveiled yesterday to convert Mitchel Field into a cultural, educational and civic center is magnificent.

It deserves the wholehearted, enthusiastic support of every Long Island citizen who is interested in the proper development of his community.

And the proper development of Mitchel Field is, as Robert Moses put it yesterday, "an almost-miraculous opportunity for sensible community development based upon forethought, experience, common sense and cooperation."

The Mitchel Field development committee has made splendid recommendations.

More than a third of the field's 1,168 acres goes to education, 235 acres for Nassau Community College, 150 acres for Hofstra College, and 55 acres for public schools.

Two hundred acres are set aside for a civic and cultural center. The planners wisely refrained from blueprinting the exact components of this civic center. There are still more question marks. The State is interested in putting a medical college there. The Veterans Administration is talking about a general hospital.

But this much is known: the county civic center will have a large auditorium for concerts and shows, a reference library, a convention hall, possibly a music shell for outdoor concerts.

In addition, reasonable acreage is set aside for light industry, and a small section for housing and business.

The committee rejects the idea of another airport on the site of one abandoned by the Air Force as unsuitable. It is entirely justified. An airport there would be a blight. A cultural-civic-educational center will be a blessing, not only for the immediate community but for all Long Island.

The development committee's report is a major achievement. We congratulate every member. We also congratulate Nassau's elected officials, led by County Executive A. Holly Patterson, the Long Island congressional delegation, our U.S. Senators, and others of vision who recognized this "almost-miraculous opportunity," and who have worked so well to achieve it.

#### Newburgh Loses

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. DONALD C. BRUCE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, I have often said that I am completely in favor of Federal controls for projects which are financed by Federal funds.

It is only commonsense for us, as Representatives of the taxpayers, to impose controls on the way Federal funds may be expended.

This is precisely why I have opposed the unlimited and wasteful spending of Federal funds for functions which are



better and more efficiently handled at the State and local community level. This includes funds for aid to education and for welfare services. The control of both of these functions should remain close to the local administrators in the communities, those who are more familiar with the needs and problems of that community.

The case of the courageous city council in Newburgh, N.Y., which attempted to put teeth into its welfare laws, is a perfect example of the danger inherent in Federal grants to States and communities. Since Newburgh received aid from the State of New York and from the Federal Government for its welfare services, it had to abide by the rules laid down by those bureaucrats in Albany and in Washington who think they know better how to handle Newburgh's problems. This is so even though Newburgh residents pay both State and Federal taxes and therefore are hampered by their own lawmakers.

I believe that this is stated succinctly by the editorial entitled "Newburgh Loses" which appeared in the Washington Daily News of August 22. I wish to insert it at this point in the RECORD:

#### NEWBURGH LOSES

As everyone expected, the sovereign State of New York has been granted its petition for a court injunction prohibiting the small city of Newburgh from enforcing a set of rules proposed for its welfare handouts.

The rules were drawn up when city officials became alarmed at the rapid increase in their relief load, even though about half the funds were coming from State and Federal treasuries. In gist, the effort was aimed at chiselers and questionable cases.

But, whatever its motives, Newburgh is powerless to act. That's what the judge holds. The rules are made by those who hand out the money, and no matter if the money comes from the same taxpayers who put up Newburgh's share.

"It is the law!" said the judge, as a judge must.

This is the whole core of the issue.

The more the State "helps" local communities, the more the State will tell local communities how to run their affairs. The more Washington spreads "aid" among the States, the more Washington will run the show. It is happening more and more as the Federal Government does more of what cities and towns once did for themselves.

As sure as daylight, this is the pattern which will follow increased Federal "aid" to education, loans and grants for sewers and parks, assistance for mass transportation and all the other things Washington is setting out to do for the "people back home."

When the Government doles out the dollars, the Government writes the rules, and there is no appeal. When the people back home raise their own funds for their own needs, they can write their own rules. Newburgh is not the first town to learn this the hard way. It will not be the last.

#### Resumption of Nuclear Testing

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 1, 1961

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to

insert into the RECORD a letter that I have received from Mr. E. Eric Robison, Buffalo, N.Y. Mr. Robison was connected with the Manhattan project during the last war. His letter follows:

Subject: Resumption of nuclear testing.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DULSKI: I am writing on the above subject with the hopes that my letter might be classified as the straw that broke the camel's back. I would greatly appreciate your sincere efforts in bringing about, as quickly as possible, the resumption of nuclear testing in the United States. I feel, after doing a great deal of reading on this matter, and especially an article written by Ernest K. Lindley, appearing on page 39 of the April 17 Newsweek, that we must not delay any longer in this most important field of defense.

I had the great privilege of being affiliated in a small way with the Manhattan project during the last war, and I sincerely believe that if we don't do something in regard to this problem, history will record our continued moratorium on nuclear testing as one of the greatest mistakes ever made by the U.S. Government.

Allow me to thank you in advance for your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours,

KENSINGTON REALTY, INC.,  
E. ERIC ROBISON, President.

#### Action, Not Words, Will Stop Communism

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 18, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the Kennedy administration need not take a back seat to Khrushchev or anyone else when it comes to indulging in talk. This is the talkingest administration in recent history. Unfortunately, the Communists do not pay much attention to what we are saying and, I am afraid, something more than a glib tongue will be needed to halt the spread of communism. There are alternatives to talk which, it is true, could lead to war, but a strong stand by us and less talk, or a return to the Teddy Roosevelt era of "soft talk and a big stick" will do more to insure the peace than anything so far attempted. In this connection I would like to call your attention to the following editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune:

#### ONE WEAPON WE SHOOT OFF

"My tongue," said the garrulous Khrushchev not long ago, "is my secret weapon." Well, we want to inform Mr. Bismouth that the Kennedy administration refuses to yield in this department. The one weapon Washington constantly shoots off is the mouth. It is the unsecret weapon of the Kennedy phalanx.

Speak softly and carry a big stick, said the earlier Roosevelt. Speak loudly, call up the guard and Reserves, step up conscription, appropriate some more billions, add 10,000 more paperwork warriors to the bureaucracy, and recommission 82 tank landing ships, presumably to disgorge a landing force at landlocked Berlin—that is the Kennedy response.

And, if Laos or Cuba offer any instruction, then expect the administration to run out when the chips are down.

The mimeograph machines are running overtime keeping up with the statements. In rapid sequence we have heard from Adlai Stevenson, Secretary of State Rusk, Secretary of the Army Stahr, Vice President Johnson, and Mr. Kennedy himself.

Stevenson announced that he does not think war will result from the Berlin crisis. "If we go to war over Berlin," he said, "it will be an unparalleled failure of statesmanship on both sides."

Khrushchev's statesmanship has consisted of a series of threats over what he would do if he doesn't have his way in Berlin. What does Stevenson's fear of a failure of statesmanship amount to? A fear that we won't be statesmen enough to cave in at the right moment?

Mr. Rusk took to television and promised to negotiate with the Communists. He didn't promise to stand firm on the principle that neither Western rights nor the West Berliners' freedom are negotiable. He took the familiar line that war is unthinkable. Neither war nor surrender, he said, is the answer to Berlin. "One of the problems of diplomacy is to protect our interests without war." And, if diplomacy isn't enough—what then?

Secretary Stahr popped up in Miami Beach with the announcement, "I do not envision war over West Berlin as the situation is today." In the Secretary's view, "if there were to be war over West Berlin it would have started yesterday," when a feeble column of 1,500 additional American troops was passed through the Soviet Zone into Berlin. Reinforcements on that scale will hardly occasion enough alarm among Communists to cause the missiles to start popping.

Then Vice President JOHNSON, after orating around Berlin, flew home to exchange congratulations with President Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy saw "difficult weeks and months ahead." Mr. JOHNSON reported a heart-warming reception for the newly arrived troops. He spoke of marching "shoulder to shoulder" with the German people "to the end that freedom is preserved in the world."

Maybe so, but if the administration wanted to show Khrushchev it meant business, it could do it in many ways—by a massive Allied confrontation of Communist forces on the border of Soviet East Germany; by cutting off steel and electronic components without which East German industry could not even continue going through the motions, and by a disciplined silence that would put it up to Khrushchev in terms of "your move."

For Khrushchev has bellored and turned the panic off and on at Berlin for 33 months. He knows as well as the next one that, if the West stands fast, he can grab Berlin only at the price of a nuclear war which would destroy communism. Short of that, he can have it only if we give it to him. So he must congratulate himself as American gabsters worry out loud about the unthinkability of war and possible "failures of statesmanship." We shouldn't doubt that he is convinced that they are going to worry themselves into giving him everything he wants on a silver platter.

#### Pittsburgh Contributions to Sports Activities

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, two Pittsburghers have



made particularly great contributions to the field of sports in America. They are Arthur J. Rooney, president of the Pittsburgh Steelers Football Club and Al Abrams, sports editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. The Pittsburgh Steelers' home field is located in the district which I have the honor to represent in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Pittsburgh want the Steelers to continue to play football in Pittsburgh. Mr. Rooney has written me in support of the Celler bill, H.R. 8757, stating that "without it, professional sports as we know them, will not continue to exist." Al Abrams has written an excellent column in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette in which he concludes that if this legislation is not enacted, "it could mean the collapse of many sports organizations." I call Mr. Rooney's letter and Mr. Abrams' column to the attention of all of my sports-loving colleagues:

PITTSBURGH STEELERS FOOTBALL CLUB,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., August 21, 1961.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: The other day I sent you a wire asking you to support a bill now before the House which will allow all professional sports to operate on a single television network. The bill was introduced by Congressman EMANUEL CELLER last Thursday, August 17, 1961. I cannot tell you how interested I am in this bill. I feel very strongly that without it, professional sports as we know them, will not continue to exist.

Recently Al Abrams, the sports editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, devoted his entire column to this matter. He explained the situation very well and I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of his column. As you will note in the column, the sports fan will continue to get as much sports on television as in the past. The major problem here is that if we continue to operate as we have been, in the next couple of years, our sponsors have indicated they will no longer pay the freight. If that happens, the sports fan will be the loser.

If you can help in any way, I would be most appreciative. Thanks for your interest.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR J. ROONEY,  
President.

TV SPORTS AND COURTS  
(By Al Abrams)

When Judge Allan Grim, of the Federal District Court of Philadelphia, invalidated a television contract between the National Football League and the Columbia Broadcasting System as a violation of the anti-trust laws he dealt a body blow to not only the progrid sport but all others with the exception of baseball.

Baseball, as you know, is the only sport not restricted by the Sherman Antitrust Act. Just why, we don't know. Neither do most of the brains in sports and some in the legal profession. The few (lawyers and judges) I have asked profess ignorance, too, and come up with legal mumbo-jumbo which throws me completely off the trolley.

This is neither here nor there. What we do know is this. Television revenue has become a vital part of every sports team budget—baseball, football, basketball. Without this outside revenue, very few teams, if any could issue a statement showing a profit.

A telephone call to Art Rooney confirmed this. "Without our television income," he told me, "I estimate we would have lost,

roughly, a quarter of a million dollars annually."

Rooney went on to explain that this year the league decided to sign all the clubs to a contract with a single network. The league chose CBS because it already had working options with 9 of its 13 clubs last year. The league has since expanded to 14 clubs.

#### SPONSORS WANTED CHANGE

As I got the story from Rooney, three different networks carried the games in the past. This meant the same towns were getting three different games—but basically the same product—on three different stations.

This caused the sponsors to become disenchanted. Instead of having exclusive rights to a product, the sponsor found he had to compete against his own product in many towns across the Nation. Most of them thought three games in three stations in the same town at the same time divided the audience to such a point it made the game an unrealistic buy.

One major sponsor, who spent nearly \$12 million yearly bringing National Football League games to fans throughout the country, said it planned to cancel its contract if exclusivity to games was not possible.

Under the new package deal with CBS, television would still be widespread and the fans still would see as much NFL football as ever. The only difference is that one station—not two or three—would carry the games. Such restraint is well in order and reasonable.

Some people, including Judge Grim, I presume, are of the opinion the one-station deal would restrict the exposure of football to fans.

Such is not the case at all. It would be the continuation of television of all major sports—in this case pro football—primarily in the best interest of the common good.

That is why football men and those in other sports are asking Congress to support sports bill 1856 which comes up soon. If it isn't, it could mean the collapse of many sports organizations.

### The Personal Practice of Patriotism

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, all of us in the Congress are approached almost daily by friends and constituents who tell us of their concern about the world and domestic situation and they ask simply, "What can I do about it?"

I have had the privilege of recently reading a speech that sets forth the personal formula of a good American. I am hopeful that by including this speech herewith in my remarks that it will serve as a guide to many other Americans who often ask this question. It gives me real pleasure to request that a speech given by Mr. Ed Lipscomb, of the National Cotton Council, which was given to the Railroad Public Relations Society in Chicago on June 22, 1961, be included herewith in my remarks:

#### THE PERSONAL PRACTICE OF PATRIOTISM

When most of us read an article or hear a speech about America and its future, we find

ourselves with one big question left dangling.

It is the simple, logical, and very human question, What can I do about it?

Instead of stopping at the point where that question arises, we want to start with it, and to devote these pages to three simple steps which must be taken by any man who truly wants to find his answer.

Developments of the present and the recent past give distressing assurance that we are moving clearly and rapidly in the exact direction our mortal enemies have prophesied, again and again, would lead to our total defeat. You know the story—a trend toward national insolvency which already has destroyed more than half the purchasing power of our money and created a public debt larger than the debts of all other nations of the earth combined, a Federal tax system patterned directly on Marxian principles and carried to extremes which not even the most socialistic country of Western Europe has undertaken to impose, the usurpation of more and more power by a bigger and bigger central government; the gradual destruction of personal incentive and the increasing frustration of those who would create new wealth and new jobs; the complete or partial dependence of half of our population on checks from the national treasury; the decline of individual patriotism and public morality to a point where cynical union monopolists can force the weekly wages of missile base workers to levels higher than the earnings of the Secretary of Defense, and where employers can treat Government contracts as special licenses for extortion of the taxpayer.

These and other signs of internal decay and disintegration are enough to set on fire before us the words of a great American who said, "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a Nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

Fortunately for each of us, for our families, and our future, this same front—the home front—is the one where you and I can be truly effective, where each can fight and win his own individual battle, and where together we can constitute the difference between national survival and certain defeat.

Fortunately, also, there are enough patriots still left in this land to do the job—enough, that is, if we have the zeal, gumption, and guts to get on with it; if we are willing and ready to fight with even half the determination, fervor, and selflessness of a dedicated Communist.

Do you know what a Communist agrees to do, just in order to be a member in good standing, at the lowest level, of the American Community Party? He agrees to accept any assignment, day or night, that may be given him. He agrees to change his business or abandon his job and sacrifice his seniority if he can be more useful doing something else.

He agrees, on demand, to leave his family and disappear from his neighborhood in order to work under a new identity in a different and distant locality. He agrees, in short, to subordinate his every personal wish and habit and preference in undeviating devotion to his cause.

Is it not then amazing that so many of us patriotic Americans should think that we can continue to enjoy the advantages and opportunities we have inherited, yet do nothing to protect or promote them except pan the politicians and hope that our fellow Americans will somehow wake up in time?

This is not that kind of fight, and we might as well quit kidding ourselves about it. Before our eyes is the big hard fact that we are not going to win it without the voluntary and vigorous expenditure of an im-



portant amount of purposeful time and personal effort.

To be effective, there are three things we simply have to do. Together they constitute the three steps to which I already have referred.

The first is to know something. This is no great new or strange idea, for certainly there is nothing novel about the need for knowledge in order to achieve results.

A physicist is not a physicist unless he knows physics. An electrician who does not know electricity will either destroy himself or set someone's house on fire. A pianist is a pianist because he has mastered the piano; a lawyer must have knowledge of the law; and there is not one of us who will let his best friend remove a lung simply because he means well and is eager to help. We want a man who knows.

If you and I are going to be effective in fighting our individual battles on the home front, we have to know something about the true nature of this home-front war we are in. We have to know something about the principles we are fighting for, what they mean, and where and by whom they are being violated. We have to know what consequences are sure to follow continued gradual abandonment of those principles by men who put this week's wages, or this month's balance sheet, or this year's political program above the outright survival of the money that pays the wages, the business that makes the balance sheet possible, and the political system under which the programs are offered.

The knowledge we need is fully available. Sound men of our own and other generations have seen to that. Some of their words are old, and some are new. Any man who begins to search them out, and who stays with the study of them long enough to begin to get their feel and their meaning for his own future, will find that they make most of his other reading and listening either dull or downright repulsive by comparison. You will not believe that unless you have tried it, but you will agree 100 percent if you have.

The second thing you and I have to do, along with knowing something, is to be something.

All the knowledge in the world cannot make us effective unless we are something . . . unless we stand for the things we believe in unless our lives are the exemplification and the personification of the principles we espouse.

The temperance lecturer who gets drunk—the preacher who flirts with choir members—the marriage counselor who has twice been divorced—these are familiar illustrations of the destruction of a man's influence by what he is.

There are probably few people in our own country who know more about the fundamental philosophy of American Government than the political experts of the Kremlin. Their knowledge indeed is abundant; yet no one would claim that it is of benefit to us, for it is knowledge held by men who do not believe in a Divine God, and who therefore cannot possibly believe that you and I have inalienable rights with which we are "endowed by our Creator." What they know becomes a liability to us, not an asset, because of what they are.

Not only, therefore, must we know something. We also must be something.

Both of these together—achieved in full measure, pressed down and running over—do not mean, however, that we will fight an effective battle. Success will come, and come only, when we take the third step—when we do something.

A man can know all there is to know about surgery; he can be a model of good behavior in his profession and his community; yet

he will never remove an appendix or save a patient's life unless he does something.

The Biblical quotation that "faith without works is dead" is far more than a Sunday school phrase limited to theological application. It is an eternal principle which is as valid on the pavement as it is in the pulpit.

Are you not sick and tired of hearing intelligent people hold forth about free enterprise, fuss about taxes, and fume about Federal interference—when you know their whole lives consist exclusively of scrambling for bigger bank accounts, climbing higher on business and social ladders, and seeking more ways of having fun?

Assuming, then, that we know something, assuming that we are something, and assuming that we want to do something—what, specifically, can we do?

Perhaps the most common mistake we make is to think that when we do something we must do something big—that if we cannot do something big it is futile to do anything at all. If such were the case, our cause indeed would be hopeless, for not a man in a hundred thousand will be able, alone, to do even one thing we ourselves would say was truly big.

To illustrate, you and I know that a major problem confronts us in the fact that many—in my opinion, most—of the regular columns of comment appearing today in the American press are heavily slanted to left-wing, pie-in-the-sky points of view. They say little about high levels of private economic achievement and the widest distribution of private wealth this world has ever known. They emphasize, instead, our pressing need for the type of so-called guaranteed security that has brought stagnation and subsistence living to every nation that has ever tried it.

There is little comment on our magnificent and unmatched record of private philanthropy, and much on the desperate need for Federal philanthropy. Seldom are we reminded that one American farmer feeds the world's choicest diet to six times as many workers as his most advanced Communist counterpart, but often of plans to make the farmer more and more a ward of Washington. There is little about the fiscal or moral necessity of eliminating or reducing any public program, and much about the indispensability or ever-greater spending.

The cumulative destructive effect of such allegedly interpretive writing is tremendous.

Neither you nor I, alone, can possibly halt or reverse it. There is not one among us, however, who cannot visit or write or telephone our own editor to protest against a particular column, who cannot ask the cooperation of a few of our friends in doing the same, and urge those friends to enlist the help of their friends, and to help obtain repetition of the same pattern through friends in other cities.

How many of us have made so much as one personal move on this simple but highly significant problem, and how many in turn have expressed support of constructive columns that are being run or editorial features that are being written?

What is true of columnists is doubly true of some of those who with voices of doom, boudoir, or circus barker seek to influence public opinion via broadcast.

This is the area of public communication which is probably more sensitive to the open indignation and expressed disapproval of a relatively few patriots than any other. A telephone call to a local program director, a letter to a network, and above all an unmistakable message to a commercial sponsor are sure to get attention.

For the man who knows something and is something, the opportunities to do something stand waiting on every hand.

What about the public schools your children or grandchildren attend? Are the teachers whose salaries you pay using their classrooms to prepare the youth of your community for lives of self-reliance, or are they leading them toward lives that are directed by a distant Central Government and dependent on political handouts? Thus far, local schools are still under local control, and the opportunities still exist for you and me to help make them a philosophical training ground for those to whom we are obligated to leave a nation as decent as the one we inherited.

When one association, speaking for 120,000 teachers, attacks an independent college for its activity in support of freedom forums, warns its members to beware of books released by conservative publishing houses, points the finger of scorn at groups which show anti-Communist films, and opposes dissemination of information from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the time has come for individual men to make sure that their own local schools are not being contaminated or influenced by so monstrous an example of educational perversion.

Your civic club? Does it maintain the myth that it must sidestep every fundamental issue which conceivably might be called political, or does it accept the truth that free chambers of commerce and business clubs are among the earliest casualties of a fully centralized government, be it Communist or otherwise?

The principal association to which you belong? Does it pass resolutions asking Washington to solve the legitimate problems of its members or their industry, and then follow up with flag-waving calls for more free enterprise? And if so, what have you done to expose the hypocrisy of it?

The list goes on and on: personal encouragement of young friends who are or should be participating in campus movements dedicated to a reversal of the trend we are in—active support of the few publications which devote their entire effort to the advancement of fundamental Americanism—and with it all the daily job of influencing the attitudes and opinions of the 160 individuals whose lives are touched by even the lowliest among us.

Somewhere down the line will appear the challenge to get up on your hind legs before a group and speak out for what you believe—perhaps to a small group of neighbors, perhaps to a luncheon club, a class of students, or a State or National convention.

There are some who will say in a hurry that "this is not for me—I have never done it, and I surely can't start now." May I suggest—as the candidates say when they are completely in disagreement—that every man who knows something, is something, and is doing something will discover to his delight that telling his story is not only possible, but pleasing and profitable as well.

Do you know what the secret is—the thing that makes it seem not only normal but necessary to do the speaking and the buttonholing and the letterwriting and the telephoning and everything else that is involved in doing something to win this war we are in?

Of course you do. It is conviction—strong conviction. It is the conviction that political problems, way down deep, are also religious and moral problems. It is the conviction that all men are morally equal, and are endowed with equal rights, but that this does not mean they have any inherent unearned right to equal things. It is the conviction that property and freedom are inseparably connected, that economic leveling is not economic uplift, that change is not necessarily progress, and that sound principles are not roadblocks which must be



cast aside to make way for the forward march of mankind.

Out of strong conviction comes dedication, and out of dedication comes the sort of crusading spirit which is mandatory for those who would fight the most important battle of our century.

The job will not be done by men who insist on comfort and soft cushions at a time when their country needs them for hard crusading—or by men who take the view that because their own staterooms are still above water they need not volunteer to help plug holes in the hull of the ship. It cannot be done by lukewarm men who consistently seek refuge in an anemic phrase called middle-of-the-road. There is no such thing as middle-of-the-road where principle is concerned. Stealing is either stealing or it isn't, and it makes no difference whether it is done with a blackjack or with a ballot box.

There are cynics who will say that already it is too late—that the job cannot be done. It can't—by cynics; but we can stand a few cynics if we have enough statesmen. We can stand a few parasites if we have enough patriots. We can stand a few who bury their talents if we have enough who bring back 10.

It is to those who still have faith in their country, faith in their fellow man, and faith in themselves that this message is addressed. There are such men today—men of true courage, men of compelling conviction. All of them did not die 2,000 years ago. All did not live in 1776.

Ours is the call for modern application of the same type of triumphant heroism which brought our Nation into being. There are no horses to be ridden through darkened streets, but there are many Americans to be awakened—no lanterns to be hung in steeples, but many an illuminating example to be set—no muskets to be shot, but many messages to be spread—no cannon to be faced, but many unyielding stands to be taken.

Ours is the call to get iron in our blood, bone in our backs, fervor in our souls, and determination in our hearts—to know all we can, be all we can, and do all we can in a cause that is greater than we can ever become.

As we accept that call, we shall find—you and I—that we have lifted ourselves above the race of the rat to the rich fulfillment of those who lose themselves in devotion to what they know to be right. We shall find the ultimate, enduring gratification—the soul-satisfying happiness—that comes only from living for principles we know will long outlast us.

### Brazilian President Makes a Point

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 18, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the following thought printed in the Wall Street Journal makes an interesting point:

#### NO TOUCH OF PREJUDICE

In a letter to Khrushchev, Brazil's President Quadros says that while his country has received "valuable aid from other sources"—including some \$3 billion in aid, loans and investments from the United States—Brazil has "something to offer and much to receive" from the Soviet Union.

However, lest Khrushchev get the wrong idea from this aid-seeking plea, Mr. Quadros advised him that "Ideological . . . prejudices do not touch" Brazilians.

The United States can vouch for that. Few countries are prejudiced when it comes to making a "touch."

### Union Should Be Subject to Antitrust Laws To Curb Abuse of Power

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 18, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the one weapon which will adequately curb the abuse of power by some labor leaders whose self-interest exceeds the national interest is to make labor organizations subject to the antitrust laws. My bill, H.R. 8407, would bring about this desired result. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal points up the need for a stronger weapon to curb labor actions which endanger national security, than any laws now in effect;

#### AN ARSENAL AND UNION POWER

President Kennedy is running into delays in getting the "arsenal of weapons" he has requested for dealing with strikes which endanger the safety of the Nation. The delays stem from the difficulty the President's own advisers are having in deciding just what "weapons" to recommend.

The measures under discussion include injunctions, seizures, tax penalties, boards with or without power to make recommendations, and other alternatives. One school has it that by providing the White House with a variety of possible moves, the disputing parties would negotiate more zealously because they would be uncertain what action the Chief Executive might take. This theory, however, has been challenged by other labor-management experts who believe the disputants could rather easily find out what the President planned.

In any case, all Mr. Kennedy's advisers seem to agree that the only answer to industrywide, nation-crippling strikes lies in more Government regulation of "free" collective bargaining. But nobody ever seems to realize this is attacking the problem from the wrong end.

When a giant union and an entire industry are locked in a dispute which threatens the well-being of the United States, a disruption in the economy is possible only because Congress has exempted organized labor from the antitrust laws which apply to all other Americans. If unions did not have the extraordinary power to shut down simultaneously, for instance, practically every steel mill and auto factory in the country, the need for Government intervention in labor negotiations would disappear.

Bringing unions under the antitrust laws would not affect a union's right to strike. But then, at least, the strike would be against one plant or one company and would not represent a major threat to the Nation's safety. No one union could then remove the trucks from our highways, ground our airlines, stop our trains, or close our ports.

Recent history shows union leaders do not hesitate to wield this enormous power when it suits their purposes. And we can ex-

pect further strike-caused crises ahead if the unions' unique position in our society remains unchanged.

It is not surprising that the President sees the need for a whole arsenal of weapons to protect the country from organized labor's power. But instead of yet more Federal control, common reason suggests it would be far wiser to reduce the union power that makes a defensive arsenal necessary.

### The John Birch Society

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 25, 1961

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, in recent days a number of comments have been made about the John Birch Society's essay contest which is the latest attempt to advertise the society's avowed desire to promote the impeachment of our Nation's loyal and dedicated Chief Justice Earl Warren.

A very thought-provoking editorial has been written on this essay contest and appeared in the July 29, 1961 issue of the Alameda, Calif., newspaper, the Times Star. This editorial clearly affirms the proposition that in the end truth will erase all doubts and calumny.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### A COMPLIMENT TO THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The John Birch Society is to be complimented on its decision to offer a series of prizes, with a top of \$1,000, in a nationwide college essay contest on the subject "Why Chief Justice Earl Warren Should Be Impeached."

The idea is a sound one and should receive the widest possible publicity. Furthermore, we hope that students by the thousand will enter it.

None of those who enter the contest with any intent of winning it will be able to avoid learning far more about the subject than they would ever be likely to learn otherwise. They will have to learn what the grounds for impeachment are and whether or not Chief Justice Warren has in fact committed any of the acts which merit such a termination to his career.

Accordingly, most of them will emerge from the contest—at least they will if they have the brains that justify their getting an education—convinced of the essential nonsense of the John Birch Society's position.

But though they will come out of it with that inner conviction, we do not doubt that the winners of the contest will produce arguments that will be satisfying to the John Birchers. Accordingly, we hope that smart citizens will offer a prize of double the amount, restricting the competitors to only those who have entered the society's contest.

The prize should be offered for the best essays on the subject "Why Chief Justice Earl Warren Should Not Be Impeached."

Thus the students would have the opportunity of exhibiting their abilities to argue on both sides of a question that has all the basic merit of another that engaged the attention of college students in the days of the scholastics—"How Many Angels Can Dance on the Point of a Pin."



## Navy Patents New Aircraft

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in the past several months, several Members have followed with interest the Navy's announced intention of subjecting to rigorous, impartial, scientific analysis a radical new proposal called the WAGMIGHT/VTOL. Our interest, of course, centers on the concern that every possible weapons system that will materially aid in the defense of the United States be given such an examination by our defense leaders to the end that this Nation will have available to it the best fruits of its scientific minds.

In this connection, there appeared in the New York Times on August 21, 1961, an article indicating that the Navy has patented certain basic discoveries engaged in the WAGMIGHT/VTOL project.

Several questions present themselves as a result of this article. Does the patenting of this project by the Navy indicate that there are, indeed, valuable techniques involved that would strengthen the defense of the United States? Has there been completed, as indicated in the news story, a "full and unbiased" review of the defense system's capabilities? Will the results of this review be presented to the appropriate committees of Congress for the necessary policy decisions, aimed at achieving the best weapon mix for the defense of our country?

So that Members may keep abreast of developments in this matter, I include the article appearing in the New York Times in the Appendix of the RECORD:

## NAVY PATENTS INFLATABLE AIRPLANE AND MAKES STUDY OF CAPABILITIES

WASHINGTON, August 20.—The Navy has patented its inflatable airplane. However, the inventor of the controversial aircraft says it is being fought by admirals who fear it as a threat to the role of big carriers.

The Navy has reportedly completed a full and unbiased review of the plane's capabilities as presented by its persistent inventor, Capt. Cooper B. Bright. The results of the review have not yet been disclosed.

In taking out a patent last week on the accumulator compressed air principle, the Navy reserved the nonmilitary commercial rights for Captain Bright. The accumulator principle is intended to give inflatable aircraft vertical takeoff capability.

The House Government Information Subcommittee has reportedly asked for a non-classified presentation on the project, similar to those Captain Bright has given in the last 2 weeks for top admirals.

## PANEL IS INTERESTED

The subcommittee became interested in the project last May after Captain Bright said he had been ordered the preceding November to destroy pamphlets on the project. The officer said certain admirals had suppressed the project for fear it might dry up appropriations for big carriers.

He believes the aircraft could be stored, in collapsed form, aboard merchant ships, de-

stroyers, or any sort of vessel and then inflated and launched when needed.

Navy Secretary John B. Connally said May 26 that the inflatable plane project would receive full and unbiased consideration.

Mr. Connally said Captain Bright had prepared a brochure and had it printed at Government expense "for the apparent purpose of promoting his idea outside the Navy."

"His superiors very properly ordered him to dispose of the copies he had not already distributed and instructed him to cease using the Government printing facilities to support his private ideas," Mr. Connally said.

## ORDERS HELD UP

Pending the review, orders transferring Captain Bright to what he considered a dead-end post, inspector of naval materiel at San Francisco, have been held in abeyance.

Captain Bright told the admirals that it takes only 50 pounds of air pressure a square inch to inflate a fabric airplane. He said that the increase of that pressure to 150 pounds would provide a tremendous source of additional power.

The officer said the compressed air could be heated to 1,000 degrees, the same temperature as the engine exhaust gases, and mixed with those gases for a short spurt to double the lifting power at takeoff.

He said that since the compressed-air accumulator was the airplane structure itself, this doubled power would be achieved without any increase in aircraft weight.

Captain Bright has won the support of a distinguished former naval officer, retired Vice Adm. T. G. W. Settle. The latter is a veteran of 100 balloon flights, in one of which, in November 1933 he ascended to a record of 61,237 feet.

Admiral Settle, who was commander of amphibian forces of the Pacific fleet at the time of his retirement in 1958, said he considered Captain Bright's invention "a technological breakthrough of tremendous potential."

## I Quit Socialized Medicine

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the United States has the highest medical standards, the finest medical facilities, and the most dedicated physicians in the world. Our elderly people are getting the best medical attention and best service in the world. Our people are free to choose their own physicians and free to consult their own pharmacists.

Mr. Speaker, let us move forward with our new, modern free enterprise system and not turn the clock back to the old decadent philosophy of socialism and government control.

The following article was written by a man who experienced the tragic consequences of a government-controlled medical care program:

## I QUIT SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

(By Dr. Lloyd Dawe)

A curious demand came one day in London from a patient of mine, a middle-aged factory worker.

He wanted me to prescribe for him 10 pounds of absorbent cotton, which is used in packing open wounds and which could be ordered almost free under Britain's program of nationalized medicine.

"What on earth do you want with all that absorbent cotton?" I asked.

"I want to restuff a sofa," he replied.

When I refused to approve this improper request, he angrily threatened to withdraw his whole family of six who were my regular patients.

This attitude of disdain for the British health care program and the doctors who serve under it became widespread soon after the national health service was established in Great Britain in 1948.

It is only one—and perhaps the least important—of the potential dangers America faces if a system of nationalized medicine is adopted in this country. A compulsory Federal health insurance bill now pending in the U.S. Congress is the thin end of the wedge that quite probably could bring deteriorating medical standards and medical care in the United States.

As an intern in a London hospital and later in general practice there, I witnessed the unbelievable waste interference and bureaucratic regimentation that have accompanied Britain's unwieldy social experiment.

I paid Government-imposed fines for prescribing the best medicine for my patients. I spent anxious hours in search of hospital space for the critically ill. I saw hospital grants frivolously spent on television sets and new carpeting.

Practice under the national health service soon became intolerable for me, as it has for thousands of British and European doctors who have left their countries to practice in America. I, too, chose freedom and came to the United States to practice under what I firmly believe is the best existing medical system in the world today.

Politicians who favor enactment of new Federal medical care in the United States today are making the same wishful promises and tranquilizing assurances that were heard in England 13 years ago.

Americans should heed the lesson taught in England, and guard well the high medical standards and freedoms they now possess.

The proposed medical care legislation now at issue in Congress would provide for payment of hospital, nursing home, and home health services to aged beneficiaries under the social security system. Providers of the health care would have to agree to meet specific Government requirements. They would be paid by an increase in the social security taxes levied on employers and employees.

Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who would administer the proposed law, has been widely quoted as saying that the legislation would not authorize Government supervision or control over the practice of medicine, the manner in which medical services are provided, or the selection of compensation of those offering the health care services.

However, the bill itself states that hospitals, nursing facilities and home care agencies must meet such conditions of participation as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare requires.

The Health Secretary says that doctors would not be included in the program. However, the bill specifically includes pathologists, radiologists, psychiatrists, and anesthesiologists working in hospitals or serving the hospital's outpatient clinics. The bill also would include interns and residents in teaching hospitals.

It is naive to suppose that once this legislation became law it would not be extended gradually to cover all medical practice and health care services for the entire U.S. population. It is equally naive to suppose that Government financing will be provided without Government control and ultimate Government operation of medical services. The Government would be irresponsible if it spent public funds without adequate controls and supervision.



Innocent-sounding provisions of the medical care measure can prove to be far different in practice. I saw similar provisions as they were applied under Britain's National Health Service.

For example, the pending medical care legislation limits the drugs and biologicals that will be provided for patients to those included in the U.S. Pharmacopoeia, National Formulary or New and Nonofficial Remedies.

In Britain the amount and kind of drugs were also restricted for the general practitioner. Only doctors on the staffs of hospitals initially could prescribe new drugs not listed in the British Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary. Government-licensed drug houses supplied medicines, which the general practitioners were supposed to prescribe by their generic name.

#### HOW HE FACED FINES

Nearly every week, either the doctor with whom I was in practice or I would be fined because we had prescribed a drug which in our best judgment was needed by a patient but which was not on the Government's official list.

Once I was charged for prescribing a drug that actually was in the official listing. I pointed this out rather acidly to the bureaucrats who had erred. The charge was remitted, but I never received an explanation or apology.

On another occasion I discovered that Luminal, a brand name for phenobarbital, which was being produced in large quantities by a private firm, was actually less expensive to obtain than the phenobarbital being made in the Government's drug houses.

The restrictions on a physician's judgment to prescribe the best medicine for his patient fell particularly heavily on the younger doctor. For instance, the new man in the field might prescribe a new and expensive drug for arthritis, whereas the older physician might order aspirin. Since the Government levied a charge on doctors whose prescriptions exceeded a certain percentage of the average cost for the particular area in which they practiced, the physician who prescribed the more expensive medicines suffered financially.

It became natural for a doctor to hesitate to prescribe certain drugs when he knew it would cost him money. It was difficult enough to get by on the restrictive compensation the Government allowed.

A physician in general practice was paid a fixed fee per patient per year no matter how frequently he saw the patient. To earn a living of about \$4,000 a year he had to see approximately 100 patients a day. Medical specialists were attached to hospitals and paid a salary by the Government.

I have a friend who has a rural practice in England still. He gets by only because he also has a chicken farm. His income from his chickens is greater than from his practice.

Since medical care theoretically was available to everyone at anytime, we were literally swamped with patients, many of them with trivial complaints or with no ailment at all. I remember one elderly woman who was in and out of the office three or four times a week. This old dear lived alone and mainly wanted someone to talk to.

Free service to all naturally leads to overutilization. Patients and proper medical care suffer.

With the best will and intentions we could not give all the time we should have to our patients. The general practitioner tended to send any cases where diagnosis was difficult or time consuming to outpatient departments of the hospitals. Less and less minor surgery was done in the doctor's office, since there was no time.

Besides the heavy patient load, the time spent on Government paper work was fan-

tastically high. If a man was too ill to work, he had to have a certificate filled out by his physician. For each week he was not on the job, a certificate was necessary, and another certificate had to be completed when he returned to work.

There were certificates for free milk or orange juice for children when this added nourishment was necessary, and complicated forms any time anyone was treated who was not on a doctor's list of regular patients. Form filling and correspondence with the Government thus became one of the physician's major functions. He was reduced to the role of part-time clerk.

The lack of time to care for patients meant more of them had to be shunted off to hospitals. Doctors tended to lose touch with their patients when this happened as practically no general practitioners are on hospital staffs. The doctor could visit his patient in the hospital, but he got the uncomfortable feeling that he was in the way, because he had no responsibility for the patient then. The hospital staff was in authority.

When the patient was released, his doctor got a brief letter from the hospital saying what had been done, but this break in medical care continuity is hardly the best kind of treatment for the patient. Rarely, too, did the patient have any choice over who would treat him in the hospital.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the politicians who support the medical care bill before Congress say that it provides free choice of either hospital or doctor.

Under the national health service, patients not only had no choice of hospitals, they were fortunate to get accommodations at all in the jam-packed institutions.

I remember an elderly patient who fractured her hip. I spent more than 3 hours on the telephone before I could locate a bed for her, and it was in a hospital on the other side of London.

I remember, too, a 24-year-old woman who had a sudden cerebral attack. I believed it was neurological in nature, but I knew she needed a specialist for proper diagnosis. After 4 hours on the phone, I finally was able to get her into a hospital. A brain cyst was discovered. The young woman lived, but the wait had not helped her.

I remember, too, a man of about 60 who had a heart attack and was in a state of some shock. Two hours of phoning finally found hospital space for this emergency case. A central phone service finally was established which relieved this problem to some extent. But private or semiprivate rooms were almost unheard of. In some hospitals the crowded wards even had beds down the middle aisles.

Unless surgery was of emergency nature, up to a 2-year wait was customary. I had several child patients with chronic tonsillitis who were on the waiting list for operations the whole year I was in practice in London.

A major reason why the hospitals were so overcrowded was the heavy load of elderly patients, the very age group that the health care measure now before Congress would cover. Since hospitalization was free, many of the aged in Britain were shuttled off to the hospitals rather than being cared for at home by their families.

I appreciate that the aim of the aged health care legislation is to help a group of citizens who frequently incur heavy medical expenses. However, as a psychiatrist, I am convinced that the elderly person should not be encouraged in dependency. He should not be made to feel that he is a pitied ward of the State, a worn-out object of charity. Let us not destroy the self-reliant spirit. The older patient must have an incentive to keep living, to continue to be useful.

Existing legislation, enacted by Congress only last year, provides a program of care

for needy aged who cannot afford the costs. But to encourage all the aged to give up their independence and become debit members of society, to receive doles regardless of need, could be a destructive influence on the older population.

Though health care of the elderly is often more expensive than that of younger persons, the British found that their attempts to improve the health services for the minority downgraded the services for the majority. There are even indications that the health of the overall population was not greatly improved by the service as such.

One might expect that, with health care available to anyone regardless of cost, the country would be healthier. However, British businessmen found that absenteeism in plants and companies nearly doubled the first year the health service was in effect.

The dissatisfaction with the national health service has been strikingly shown in the sharp rise in voluntary health insurance plans in Britain. When the health service first was established, private health insurance fell off drastically. But now those who can afford it buy private health insurance because of the better treatment and benefits it assures, though the insured must also carry the heavy taxes that pay for the nationalized health plan.

The poor British taxpayer has been milked dry. The Health Service now costs more than five times the original estimate. One of the main reasons is that there are two or three Government clerks for each doctor. On that basis, if the United States adopts a Government-operated health system, the Federal Government would have to hire nearly 2 million more clerks.

When the British Health Service began, the staff of the hospital where I was an intern seemed to double overnight. The signs of bureaucracy—excessive paperwork, overhead and impersonal treatment—were immediately apparent.

Hospitals apply to the Government for block grants for operating expenses. If a hospital has any money left over when it has completed a fiscal year, the next year's grant is reduced by this amount. Naturally, this system encourages wasteful practices and penalizes economical hospital administrators.

I have seen hospital money spent for television sets, new carpeting and other purposes of a nonmedical nature just to use up remaining funds in a budget.

Patients and pharmacists were not guiltless either. Some patients had arrangements with their pharmacists whereby they would bring in a prescription for Government-paid medicine and use it instead to pay for cosmetics of an equivalent value. The waste and redtape might be worth the price if they assured the best medical practice and health care. However, bureaucratic administration brought outrageous governmental interference that discouraged and handicapped medical men. For example, these two incidents involved my brother-in-law. He, too, is a physician refugee of the National Health Service and is now practicing in New Mexico.

One New Year's eve, my brother-in-law received a message to make three house calls. There was no indication of an emergency nature. But by the time he reached the third house, the patient had already been sent to a hospital by another physician.

A complaint was brought against my brother-in-law and he was taken before a Government health service tribunal that acted as prosecutor, judge, and jury. A doctor under this situation is not even allowed representation. Though he pointed out that he had no way of knowing the patient was in an emergency condition, he was fined £50.

On appeal, the decision was overturned and justice was done, but it had cost him untold



anxiety and loss of prestige, through the bad publicity of this star chamber procedure. He was not even able to sue for malicious abuse or on other grounds.

On another occasion, Government inspectors who periodically check doctor's offices as to the condition of furnishings and even decor, demanded to see the living quarters of my brother-in-law which were in the same building.

I came to the United States because I sought the opportunity to practice medicine in a way that I thought best for both doctor and patient—without regimentation, restrictions, and interference. I want only two people in the medical relationship—myself and my patient. There should be no impersonal governmental third party.

In this country I have found freedom of action and professional choice. Now I feel I am practicing in the best existing system in the world. It is not perfect. But we are striving to make it better. And the best medical care can be given only in the system where a doctor is not a Government clerk but an individual with professional dignity and freedom.

### The Fight To Preserve Congressional Responsibility Over Appropriations Not Yet Won

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, although the House did succeed in temporarily stopping the administration's grab for power in the demand to permit back-door spending over a 5-year period in the foreign aid bill, the fight is far from won. An article from the Wall Street Journal indicates the pressure the administration is applying to have its way in this matter. My only comment is, Why is the President demanding that Congress waive its responsibility over appropriations? The foreign aid program has never lacked appropriations by the exercise of congressional scrutiny. Let us not accept a conference report which will strip Congress of more of its responsibility and place additional powers in a single individual.

The above-mentioned article follows:

**KENNEDY STANDS FIRM ON PLAN FOR FINANCING OF FOREIGN AID LOANS—HOUSE-SENATE CONFEREES EXPECTED TO CLEAR BILL FOR DIRECT TREASURY WITHDRAWALS**

WASHINGTON.—President Kennedy reassured Democratic congressional leaders at his weekly conference with them that he is standing firm on his request for power to finance foreign aid loans to underdeveloped nations by direct withdrawals from the Treasury.

Consequently, the Senate-House conference which will resolve differences between separate foreign aid measures passed by the two Chambers almost certainly will come up with a bill containing the hotly opposed principle of direct Treasury withdrawals—a form of financing called "back-door spending" by its critics.

This would mean the House, which last week rejected the Kennedy plan, again will be faced with the question when it votes on the bill revised by the conferees. Although

the conference begins sessions this afternoon, it may take a week or more to resolve 112 separate differences between the House and Senate bills.

Prior to yesterday's weekly meeting of the President and his chief congressional lieutenants, there had been speculation on Capitol Hill that Mr. Kennedy would sacrifice the idea of direct Treasury withdrawals, rather than suffer an embarrassing congressional defeat, and instead try for some other type of long-term financing of foreign economic development loans.

#### DEMOCRATIC SENATORS AROUSED

This had aroused some indignation among Democratic Senators, who had worked hard to win Senate approval of authority for the President to withdraw \$8 billion from the Treasury over 5 years without the need for annual congressional appropriation. The House measure contains no long-term financing provision and continues the requirement for annual appropriation setting a \$1.2 billion limit on appropriations for the current fiscal year that would be voted in a separate appropriation measure later this month.

But Mr. Kennedy made it clear at the weekly session that he did not want to compromise on the principle of direct Treasury withdrawals. The most he would retreat, he indicated, would be to accept a pared down Senate plan that would permit withdrawals totaling around \$5 billion over a 3-year period.

Moreover, House Democratic leader McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, informed Mr. Kennedy that chances for House approval of a conference report calling for back-door spending are not as bleak as some House Democrat chieftains had previously indicated. The generally more conservative nature of the House plus the power wielded there by the 50-member Appropriations Committee makes that chamber far less willing than the Senate to sacrifice power over appropriations.

Backing up Representative McCORMACK's new-found optimism, the bloc of a dozen or so House Republicans from New England privately passed the word that they probably will approve the bill emerging from the Senate-House conference even if it contains a 3-year Treasury withdrawal plan as expected. This in itself could spell the difference between victory and defeat for the administration.

The possibility that the President was deserting the fight for direct Treasury withdrawals appeared to increase Monday when testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee by Secretary of State Rusk was interpreted by some observers as indicating the administration no longer insists on back-door spending. However, Mr. Rusk informed both the White House and Chairman FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday that he was merely emphasizing that some means of long-term financing must be found even if Congress rejects direct Treasury withdrawals.

#### ADMINISTRATION BEGINS DRIVE

Meanwhile, the Administration began a drive to restore at least some of the money cut by the Senate from the proposed spending authority for military aid grants. Defense Secretary McNamara, testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee, implied that the reduction might even imperil the preservation of West Berlin as a free world bastion because of a reduction in U.S. outlays for Western European armies.

The House-passed foreign aid bill sets a \$1.8 billion limit on appropriations this year for military grants, exactly the same amount that was appropriated by Congress last year and only \$80 million less than Mr. Kennedy requested. However, liberals who oppose

military aid and conservatives who oppose any kind of foreign aid combined in the Senate to cut the figure to \$1.5 billion.

The reduction reflected a growing hostility by Senators toward military aspects of the foreign-aid program on the ground that it provides help for prosperous Western European nations who do not need it and helps prop up military dictators in underdeveloped nations. It is likely that the conferees will come up with a military aid figure somewhere between the House and Senate versions.

### Communist Use of Psychopolitical Warfare

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JOHN R. PILLION**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, the 28th of July, the Borger News-Herald, published in Borger, Tex., ran an article which I believe would be of interest to every American. The article, written by Mr. J. C. Phillips, in his column "News Into Focus," was entitled "Fronts We Neglect." Mr. Phillips, in the following excerpt from his article, points up the Communist use of psychopolitical warfare, a weapon against which the free world has yet to present an able defense.

#### FRONTS WE NEGLECT

(By J. C. Phillips)

Representative JOHN R. PILLION, from New York, has entered House Joint Resolution 447 in the U.S. Congress, under date of June 12, 1961. This resolution calls on the people and the Government to recognize formally a state of war exists between the United States and the Communist apparatus.

This resolution makes sense because Soviet Russia through its Communist apparatus in this country is making war on the American people on many fronts where there is no attempt to resist by our Government and too little attempt to resist on the part of Americans immediately in contact with the enemy who need to be alerted to their responsibility, and therefore to resist the enemy where this personal contact is in daily progress.

We are talking about psychopolitical warfare. The enemy uses every means to demoralize and to disintegrate all Communist-Soviet resistance.

Here are a few of the many fronts on which we are being attacked, wherein our Government offers no or very feeble resistance:

The infiltration into our school systems, religious bodies and unions for party organizational purposes and subversion; infiltration of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, movies, etc., to disseminate pro-Communist-Soviet line; and the maintenance of Communist libraries throughout the world.

#### THESE TWO SHOULD LEAD

Within and throughout our school organizations and within and throughout our church organizations, and certainly including the National Council of Churches, there should be effective leadership to resist infiltration of the Communist propaganda and agents of subversion. These two groups more than any other two groups could do more toward solidifying and unifying the American people into the effective opposing



force that must be massed if we are to destroy the enemy before he destroys us.

That is why there is much merit in House Joint Resolution 447, U.S. House of Representatives, as proposed by Representative FILLION.

### National Gallery of Art Program for September 1961

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 18, 1961

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, the program of the National Gallery of Art from Monday, August 28, through Sunday, September 3, 1961, is outstanding.

I am calling the attention of the Congress and the American people to this program to point out that the National Gallery of Art is an active institution, where there is a great deal going on of cultural interest to Americans of all types and varieties. There are paintings, sculpture, lectures, tours, concerts, and films that make the gallery a wonderfully interesting place and a rewarding experience.

If you have not ever visited the National Gallery of Art, you certainly should do so. Find out what a tremendous asset you have as an American citizen to participate in these activities with your family and friends.

We American citizens are fortunate to have one of the outstanding galleries of the world in Washington, D.C., and the hundred million dollars plus that have been donated by your fellow citizens to the National Gallery for your benefit and enjoyment will be a real surprise to you, even if you are no artist, but simply love peace and quiet in beautiful surroundings away from the hubbub and bubble of competition, strife, and daily humdrum of workaday chores.

People come from all over the world to enjoy the National Gallery of Art, and we Americans should know of this well managed and outstanding gem on our very doorstep. I enjoy the gallery and its activities so very much myself, that I want my friends in Congress and the citizens of the United States to have this called especially to their personal attention. So I am inserting this coming September program of the National Gallery in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to share my enthusiasm and enjoyment:

#### NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

MONDAY, AUGUST 28, THROUGH SUNDAY  
SEPTEMBER 3

Painting of the week: Ryder, "Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens" (Mellon collection) gallery 71; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: "El Greco and Picasso" (rotunda); Tuesday through Saturday, 1 Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection (rotunda); Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, THROUGH SUNDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 10

Painting of the week: Van Dyck, "Paola Adorno, Marchesa Brignole Sale, and Her Son" (Widener collection) gallery 43; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Hals and Manet (rotunda); Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection (rotunda); Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Monday at 1; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Recent Sculpture—Lost and Found." Guest speaker, Donald B. Goodall, professor of art, University of Texas, Austin, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, THROUGH SUNDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 17

Painting of the week: Chardin, "The Kitchen Maid" (Samuel H. Kress collection) gallery 54; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Titian and Renoir (rotunda); Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection (rotunda); Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Three Types of Abstract Expressionism." Guest speaker, Carl D. Sheppard, Jr., professor of art history, University of California, Los Angeles; lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, THROUGH SUNDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 24

Sculpture of the week: Agostino di Duccio, "Madonna and Child" (Mellon collection) gallery 6; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Hobbema and Corot (rotunda); Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection (rotunda); Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Tiepolo Drawings." Guest speaker, Graham Reynolds, keeper, department of prints and drawings and paintings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, conductor (music performance trust fund concert); east garden court, 8.

Inquiries concerning the gallery's educational services should be addressed to the educational office, Republic 7-4215, extension 272.

Gallery hours: Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Permanent collection: Paintings and sculpture comprising the Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are located on the main floor. The Widener collection of decorative arts is on the ground floor.

New exhibition: Tiepolo drawings. A selection of 135 drawings and 8 etchings from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Galleries 68, 69, 69-A, and 70; September 17 through October 15.

New publication: "Tiepolo Drawings." Exhibition catalog of 50 pages with introduction by Graham Reynolds, 19 illustrations. Size 7¼ by 10 inches. Price \$1, postpaid.

New reproduction: A sculpture reproduction of Honoré Daumier's Ratapoll, bronze original in the Rosenwald collection. Height 17¼ inches. Price \$50, express collect.

Concerts: The Calouse Gulbenkian Foundation concerts resume on September 24, at 8 p.m. in the East Garden Court.

Sunday lectures: The Sunday lectures, held in the auditorium at 4 p.m., will resume September 10.

LecTour: a radio lecture device is installed in 30 exhibition galleries. Talks running continuously, cover most of the periods of art represented by the collection. A visitor may rent a small receiving set for 25 cents to use in hearing these LecTour broadcasts.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Mondays through Saturdays 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sundays 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

### The Brakes on Foreign Aid

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the attached editorial from the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin more nearly coincides with the expressed views of the majority of the Members of the House than any other editorial that has come to my attention, and I am pleased to insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

#### THE BRAKES ON FOREIGN AID

Rising fear that the Kennedy administration is spreading itself too thin is basic to congressional insurrection on foreign aid.

In the face of the Berlin crisis, prompting billions in new defense expenditures, there is a feeling that the administration is attempting to move too fast, too far, and too soon on too many projects. And that too little attention has been paid to policing up areas where obvious mistakes have been made in the past.

Some of the items which have varying influence on various Members of Congress include:

Opposition in principle to the back-door feature of the 5-year development loan program urged by the President. Under this system the Government simply borrows the money from its own Treasury, instead of getting it by specific appropriation by Congress. The effect is to weaken congressional controls on spending. It is this back-door provision which was wisely knocked out by the Saund amendment before the House passed its version of the bill.

Qualms concerning the broad promises of aid to Latin America, made by Treasury Secretary Dillon at the alliance for progress meeting in Uruguay. The United States appears to have underwritten \$20 billion in the next 10 years with at least half of it coming from the Treasury. Congress properly should inquire whether the Latin American nations are living up to their end of the bargain before it puts up this money, or anything like it.

Failure of the administration to provide any dramatic evidence of reform in foreign aid administration, despite the numerous instances of bungling and waste uncovered by congressional investigation.

Continued insistence on expensive new domestic programs combined with a consistently vague idea as to where the money is coming from. Considering the big deficit of last year and the still bigger one expected this year, this attitude threatens inflation and economic disturbance which could severely affect both the will and ability to maintain adequate defenses.

The farflung operations of the administration, worthy though each may be, diffuse the national energies, confuse the public and fail to gain a concentration of attention on



the overwhelmingly important issue of the hour, which is national survival under the new threat of Communist aggression—this year and not some time in the distant future.

Even under the Saund amendment, President Kennedy is offered \$1.2 billion in appropriated development loan money for this year, which is all he asked.

In our opinion he should settle for that and be pleased that so much is offered, even if there is a chance that broader authority might be forced through a reluctant Congress, in the final compromise version of the bill. If he comes back next year with a plain record of reform and progress, he need not worry about future financial support.

### Textiles: A New England Perspective

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appear in the Monthly Business Letter of the New England Merchants National Bank, prepared by the Institute for Business Science, Cambridge, Mass., August 1961:

#### TEXTILES: A NEW ENGLAND PERSPECTIVE

New Englanders know that the American textile industry has failed to share fully in the growth of the economy since World War II. For example, since 1947: per capita consumption of textile products has declined by more than 20 percent; sales and production have increased less than one-third as much as the average for all manufacturing industry; employment has dropped 33 percent, about 400,000 jobs; more than 800 mills have closed. The gap between textile wages and those of other manufacturing workers has widened—from about 15 percent to more than 30 percent—and textile profits have been consistently below the average for manufacturing industry.

#### WHAT'S WRONG?

Until 1955, the troubles of the textile industry were largely limited to its northern branch. This was a period of relocation from North to South. The entire industry had operated at a high level of capacity from the beginning of World War II until the 1949 recession. But many mills in the North suffered from obsolescence, and when the bottom dropped out of the textile market they were through. Southern mills, with substantially lower labor costs, took over a growing share of the market.

Since 1955, the major problem has been foreign competition, which has hit mills in all regions. When the textile industries of other countries—notably Japan—were rebuilt after World War II, they installed the latest equipment. Wage rates in Japan and in other countries are far below those in the United States. They easily undersell us in foreign markets. Our export sales have steadily dwindled.

Textile imports into the United States, moreover, have gone up sharply during the past 5 or 6 years. At first, these came largely from Japan. But 5 years ago the Japanese Government agreed to limit shipments to the U.S. market. Imports from other nations

have risen markedly since then. The net effect: merely a shift in the sources of imports of cotton cloth. And total textile imports have continued to rise—by more than 600 percent since 1948. Cotton textile imports now amount to about 8 percent and wool imports about 16 percent of output. And carpet imports have jumped even more, amounting to more than one-fourth of total production in this country.

#### ACTION IN CONGRESS

In 1958, Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, chaired a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce which made an intensive study of the problems of the domestic textile industry. The subcommittee recommended, among other things, some form of import limitation. But a special interagency committee, representing several executive departments, issued a statement which denied the necessity for Government intervention. Meanwhile, imports continued to mount, and textile employment continued to decline.

Early this year the subcommittee held another set of hearings. It came up with fewer, but sharper, recommendations. It asked for the imposition of mandatory quotas by country and by product category. It also recommended the elimination of the two-price cotton system (under which domestic mills buy cotton at the protected U.S. price, while foreign mills are free to buy it at the lower world price), more realistic depreciation allowances, and a stepped-up program of technical and economic research. Its chairman recommended informally that the President set up a cabinet committee to look into the ills of the textile industry. This was done, with Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges as chairman.

The report of the Cabinet committee echoed the Pastore committee's recommendations. But it did not go along with the demand for mandatory quotas. Instead, the President directed the Department of State to arrange a conference of textile importing and exporting countries to seek an international agreement.

This conference was held in Geneva last month, under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). An agreement was reached which placed a moratorium on certain textile exports, and established an international commission to study textile trade problems. The low-wage countries will now export more to Europe, and limit their exports to the United States and Canada. But the conference dealt with cotton textiles and apparel only. Woolens and worsteds, which are today the important segment of the New England textile industry, were not covered.

#### WHAT OF WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS?

But there is something new this year in the woolen and worsted picture, also. Until January 1961, the Geneva agreements specified a duty of 25 percent on imports equal in quantity to 5 percent of the previous year's domestic output. After this quota had been filled, all other imports entered under a 45-percent duty. This arrangement has now been replaced by a duty of 38 percent on goods valued over \$2 per pound, and up to 60 percent on goods valued below \$1.27 per pound. The new schedule is designed to limit imports of low-value woolen goods, mainly Italian, which have been hurting American producers.

Woolen and worsted imports during the first quarter of this year were slightly over 14.5 million square yards, significantly below the 32.2 million yards that entered during the same period last year. Last year's total woolen and worsted imports were a record high of 62.3 million yards, up from the 1959 record of 46.6 million. However, it would be wishful thinking to believe that

the low level of imports during the first quarter will persist throughout this year. There is a good chance that the year's total will be very close to last year's, if not slightly above it. The rise in duties may prove to have only a limited, temporary effect on imports, and the domestic industry will have to be prepared for more competition from abroad. Apparel makers, too, are threatened with increased foreign competition, as the duties on woven apparel are lower than on cloth.

#### THE BATTLE AHEAD

Despite any concessions from our foreign competitors, Congress will be under heavy fire when the Trade Agreements Act comes up for extension next year. The textile industry has felt the impact of imports more than other major industries. But others, such as the needle trades, are becoming restive about the rising volume of imports. When the first Pastore report was issued, union leaders in the garment and apparel industries were critical of the recommendation to limit imports. They were in favor of cheaper cloth. But more and more cloth now enters in the form of made-up goods. And in the 1961 hearings, the same union leaders were highly vocal in their demands for protection. For a time they threatened to boycott foreign cloth if the Government did not act.

Like industry, the trade unions are divided on the question of protection. Those in industries which have felt the impact of imports are demanding it. Those in industries with large export markets lean toward free trade. The problem of high-level unemployment here is bound to be brought into the debate over the extension of the trade act.

#### LONGRUN PROSPECTS

Is the long-term U.S. textile outlook helpless? Not by far. There have been too many premature obituaries of the textile industry. The drop in per capita consumption of cloth is largely due to the loss of industrial markets. Paper, light metals, and plastics have displaced fabrics in many industrial uses. But this cut is now close to the bone. It is not likely to go much further. Stepped-up research will lead to new uses—especially for the versatile new synthetics.

The clothing and household markets will continue to overshadow the industrial market. Here the outlook is bright. Rapid population growth and rising per capita income will insure a greater total demand for textile products. The big question is: How will these markets be divided between foreign and domestic producers?

The startling rise in imports of the past few years will not go unchecked, as the new international agreements indicate. But the long-run survival of the domestic textile industry is basically dependent upon accelerated investment and research. More realistic depreciation allowances are needed to speed mill modernization. Also, technological advances will reduce the labor content of each yard of cloth produced. International labor-cost differentials thus will become less important. There still will be severe competition, but it will be based more on technology and investment than on wage scales.

In any case, however, textile employment is almost certain to drop—whether we buy from low-cost mills abroad or produce cloth in highly automated mills in this country. Hopefully, the necessary adjustments can be made gradually enough to smooth the transition for textile workers. If labor displacement can be geared to normal turnover rates, future job losses in the industry will be much less painful than those we have witnessed in the past decade.



## The Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a statement prepared for presentation to the Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment on even date herewith:

Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment, and trust that I may thereby reflect the views of a substantial segment of my constituents. I think you have embarked upon a most commendable undertaking.

I have a peculiar habit of doing a part of the family shopping for the simple reason that I like to observe the fluctuations of the price index at first hand. I am not above seeking a bargain, but I draw the line on inferior imported merchandise and I do object to the 3 percent that is added on for trading stamps. They are like gambling, in that some people like to indulge and others don't, and I just do not want to be bothered with trading stamps—it's a personal matter. Now, imports, too, are deceptive and usually an inferior article and I have legislation pending to require that the manufacturer's name and address appear on all assembled merchandise, including the textiles. In the first place, a manufacturer is legally responsible for defects in his wares and the absence of a label suggests that somebody is ducking the issue and trying to hide his identity. More important even than that, and my first concern, is the American workman and I would like to see him employed full time. A normal person doesn't want to be unemployed and on a dole, and I for one only want to support him in that manner as a last resort. That is the problem that confronts us here today.

In my locality, textile and wearing apparel is a field of small operations where many family businesses and small plants of national firms predominate. As a result, the impact of low priced imports manufactured in countries with substandard wages and living conditions is widespread. During the past decade, there have been many instances reported where employment opportunities have dropped at an alarming rate. These people did not become unemployed as a result of automation, but because our markets, using words of those in the business, have been "glutted with imports" and merchandise of inferior quality.

Now, we already have the machinery to control imports—it is in the hands of the executive branch of the Government, and the time has arrived to use it. Today, we read that our automobile industry is in trouble and that is not difficult to understand when you look out in the street and observe the number of foreign cars on our highways. They are not superior to our cars, but they are cheap and buyers are demanding economy merchandise, not necessarily the lowest available price but the best buy for the long run.

In my opinion, this is a problem for the experts, and I have wired all of the responsible labor people of my own textile industry for an expression of their views. In closing, I should like to quote the reply of one of the

outstanding union representatives in my district and submit that your committee extend serious consideration to the views expressed in the following telegram:

"Congressman J. ERNEST WHARTON,  
"House of Representatives,  
"Washington, D.C.:"

"The impact of import on our industry, namely, men's shorts and suits, has had a definite damaging effect. The union has proposed several remedies. We take exception to the fact that competitively it is impossible to compete with imports due to low wages and other subminimum conditions. Our manufacturers cannot even make the garments for what an imported garment sells for in this country. Unless definite steps are taken either to set quotas or raise the standard of living in these foreign countries, our workers will be without jobs. We must have reciprocal trade but we must see to it that our workers and manufacturers have competitively equal working conditions.

"Mrs. RITA BAKER,  
"Business Agent, Local 186, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,  
AFL-CIO."

## How Can Nehru Claim Neutrality?

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 22, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, last week, during debate on the mutual security bill, I repeated what I have been saying for a number of years, that we ought not give a single penny to so-called neutral nations. I do not know by what stretch of the imagination we can term India's Nehru a neutral. On every possible occasion he lines up with the Soviet Union in any showdown with the free world. He has defended Communist aggression, he was on the Communists side in the takeover of Cuba, and now today, according to the following news story from the Washington Evening Star, he is defending their right to imprison, to seal off East Berlin in defiance of existing treaties and agreements. In spite of Nehru's open hostility to the United States and his affinity for the Khrushchev Communist dictatorship, we will continue to send millions of American tax dollars to maintain his government. I say this is wrong and I am convinced that the American people believe it is wrong and will let Congress know in no uncertain terms, if we continue to insist upon giving the people's money away to those who will gladly contribute to our destruction.

The Washington Star article follows:  
NEHRU SEES RED RIGHT ON BERLIN MOVEMENT  
NEW DELHI, August 23.—Prime Minister Nehru indicated today he believes the Communists have the right to control movements between West Berlin and East Berlin and between West Germany and Berlin.

Winding up a foreign affairs debate in the upper house of Parliament, Mr. Nehru asserted that Western access to Berlin is "not a right but a concession by the Soviets." German occupation zones only granted the allies the right to occupy Berlin and free

access between the Western zones and Berlin was granted by the Soviets a year later.

Access rights were diluted when the joint administration of the city ended after the Berlin blockade, Mr. Nehru said, adding that West Berlin had become the responsibility of NATO and in effect two separate German states exist with each part governing movements as sovereign states normally have the right to do.

Soviet and East German authorities "could easily argue that they can control the movement from East to West Berlin," Mr. Nehru declared.

Although he said "legal rights are confused" in the German question, the comments by the neutralist leader appeared to line him up with the Communists against the West. The United States and the Soviet Union both have tried to win his backing in the Berlin dispute.

Mr. Nehru repeated earlier statements that the crisis should be solved by negotiations instead of troops and threats and that only increased contacts between the two Germanies would bring about peaceful reunification.

## Lake Erie Pollution

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ROBERT E. COOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 22, 1961

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, the 87th Congress has gone on record for legislation, passed only several months ago, to double the Federal effort to assist communities in constructing necessary sanitation plants in their respective communities and to tighten the laws with reference to pollution of our navigable waterways.

One of the biggest problems for residents of my district, and neighboring districts, is pollution of Lake Erie, one of our largest navigable waterways. Therefore, I was very pleased to note the following editorial in the Painesville Telegraph of Painesville, Ohio, commending the U.S. Corps of Engineers for their recent action in asking assistance of interested citizens in preventing such pollution of Lake Erie. The entire southern shore of Lake Erie, especially that portion located in Lake and Ashtabula Counties, has become a real water wonderland catering to many thousands of summer visitors each year. It is essential that the pollution of Lake Erie, as well as the other Great Lakes, be stopped immediately. I think the action of the Corps of Engineers is a step in the right direction.

The editorial follows:

### KEEPING LAKE ERIE TIDY

There was a day when polluting water and waterways was no problem. Today, however, in an area becoming more crowded every day and with water resources becoming increasingly popular for recreation, pollution is a very real problem for every citizen.

We were reminded of this the other day by the U.S. Corps of Engineers, launching with renewed vigor a program of assistance in curbing pollution, in this case, of our navigable waterways.

It's such a big, big lake, some folks think, surely a bit of garbage over the side of the



boat won't hurt anybody. If you multiply this rationalization thousands of times—taking into account the throngs of people who ride the rim of Lake Erie in their pleasure craft in every sector—the inevitable result becomes obvious: First-rate pollution of a real water wonderland.

The Corps of Engineers asks any citizen who sees such an act committed to report this violation to the U.S. Coast Guard by time, date, name of vessel, location, and if possible, obtain a sample of the material discharged as evidence. The latter sounds like quite a nuisance (and is not a "must"), but can be understood when the penalty for conviction is \$500 fine and 30 days in jail at the minimum or \$2,500 fine and 1 year in prison at the maximum.

The Engineers mean business—and thank heavens they do.

### Automation, Jobless Concern of Churches

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 8, 1961

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, as the business of the Nation continues to improve and the reports of greater productivity increase, the realization that our unemployment rate is not decreasing is most disheartening.

More and more people are recognizing the need for Government leadership and action in seeking a solution to our structural unemployment problem.

I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the recent statement of the National Council of Churches as reported in the Pittsburgh Press on August 19 in which they urged retraining of our workers, and said that the joblessness caused by automation is the concern of the churches of the Nation:

#### AUTOMATION, JOBLESS CONCERN OF CHURCHES

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 19.—In a spirited message of good will to the Nation's labor force expressing concern for the unemployed, the National Council of Churches today called for "positive and determined" efforts to bring about "full production and full employment aimed at providing decent living conditions the world over."

The council's department of the church and economic life, in its 44th annual labor Sunday message, stressed that "automation is of critical concern to the churches" and "large-scale unemployment or long continued unemployment for persons able and willing to work is intolerable."

The message has the approval of the executive board of the division of Christian life and work of the national council, according to Rev. Cameron P. Hall, executive director of the department of the church and economic life. Mr. Hall said it is requested that the message be read in the churches on labor Sunday, September 3.

Recognizing that "automation—the invention and use of machines that reduce drudgery and multiply production—has increased opportunities," the text of the statement pointed out that nevertheless problems have been created which "concern us all."

Neither employers nor unions can solve alone the problem of maintaining an adequate level of demand for goods and services to keep our entire work force employed.

"This task," the statement said, "involved fiscal and monetary policies and other economic measures. Only in a context of full employment can the problems created by automation be adequately met."

The national council indicated that concern for others in need at home and overseas is a factor which "our Christian faith" demands of us.

Referring to the "increased capacity of our factories and our farms," the message called for "bold new thought and action" in the distribution of "our potential abundance to those in need within and beyond our borders."

To achieve "full employment within our new technology" will require "the best creative thinking and action on the part of everyone, including labor, management, agriculture, government, and the Christian churches," the statement said.

Urging retraining and relocation of workers, better provisions for retirement and transfer of benefits, the National Council called on "all segments of the community" to assume "responsibility for such programs, even as labor must be willing to accept new techniques."

### Protecting Rights, Benefits, etc., for Recalled Reservists

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 17, 1961

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, in the coming months, as the United States strengthens its Armed Forces to more effectively counter the threats of communism, there will be called to active duty a large number of young men, and some not so young, who are members of the Reserve forces.

I am certain the country is heartened and grateful for the spirit in which those recruits who have been advised of possible recall have responded. Aware of the personal hardships that will be worked upon them, they have not sought to evade their duty.

In addition to those members of the Reserve forces who will be called the enlistments of many individuals on active duty will be extended as will the duty tours of many officers.

We should be mindful that many of the reservist will be coming to active duty for the second time in their lifetime and for some it will be the third tour of active duty, men who served in World War II and during the Korean war.

I need not remind the Congress of the hardships that were worked in so many thousands of cases in the hurried callup for Korea. The great financial stress that resulted in many cases. The thousands of men who had to abandon successful commercial ventures and good paying positions in business and industry.

I am mindful, still of my own experiences over having to give up a budding law practice for my second call to active duty during the Korean conflict. I remind you of these instances, caused in large measure by the unpreparedness of the military departments for a partial

mobilization, not because there is the least reluctance on the part of ready reservists to respond in this or any emergency, but to assure that the Congress and the appropriate agencies of the Federal Government will act promptly to see that hardships are held to a minimum in the current partial mobilization.

We recognize that a citizen who is in the Ready Reserve is there either because under the law he has a military obligation or because he desires to serve as a citizen-soldier, knowing full well that he is liable to orders for active duty in such emergencies as presently exist. Nonetheless, his country owes him the consideration to which he is so well entitled.

We should be mindful, also, that the sacrifice which the President calls for in this fight to secure our liberty is not intended, in spirit or in fact, to rest upon the shoulders of a few. It will, of course, rest heavier upon some, as is always the case, but it must rest in some measure upon us all.

While the numbers advised of possible orders for active duty is relatively small, it may well be necessary to increase these numbers, and I am not so certain that we should not already be doing so, before this crisis has been surmounted.

I have asked the appropriate committee chairman to call for a review of existing laws which are designed to protect veterans of active service and to benefit them for service rendered. I know that there have been introduced several new pieces of legislation and I am currently drafting bills to provide certain benefits and protection to which I feel reservists, especially those being called upon for the second or third time, are entitled.

I submit that the Congress should take steps now to provide for specific financial aid to be available to assist persons being called to active duty upon the completion of that duty. These should include business loans, similar to those available to veterans of the Korean war and new type guaranteed loans for reservists who, because of recall, will be required to liquidate a business. I would also extend to those reservists called up in this instance the same educational benefits granted World War II and Korean veterans.

Since many reservists, especially those with large families, will be forced to live during these tours of active duty in higher rental quarters than they would otherwise acquire and will during this period of service incur other than normal family living expenses, and will in all probability leave the service either with increased debts or with limited funds to tide them over in the period necessary to establish themselves and their families in civilian life, I urge that mustering out payments be made to ease the financial hardships.

Steps should be taken to extend job protection to these veterans who may have already served the 4 years of active duty by making job protection under the law applicable for a reasonable period following the termination of the latest period of active duty of a reservist.

Furthermore the Federal Government should do more to assure that these



reservists have full knowledge of all benefits and protections available under the law.

I feel that these and other steps to protect the interests of those called are the least we can do for those dedicated Americans who are being asked to make a far greater sacrifice than are the vastly greater number of our citizens.

**"What Goes on Here—Cyrus S. Eaton,  
the Friend of the Kremlin"**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF**

**HON. FRANK J. BECKER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, we have read much about Cyrus S. Eaton, a man of great wealth, accumulated under our free capitalistic system in the United States; a man who was raised in an area of complete freedom so unlike that of Soviet Russia under the Communist regime of the past 40-odd years.

The editorial I am inserting herewith, was published in one of New York's leading newspapers, the New York World Telegram, under date of August 21, 1961 and written by Henry J. Taylor, well-known journalist and columnist.

I cannot for the life of me, nor can anyone else that I know, understand how Mr. Eaton can be such a close friend of the leaders of the Soviet Union, who are the exponents of the Communist conspiracy to control and enslave all the peoples of the world. What type of mentality can say in the country of freedom in which he accumulated his wealth, that Soviet Russia wants peace. Surely he must realize and know that the peace that Soviet Russia speaks about is that type of peace that will come only when Soviet Russia has enslaved the entire world. This is not the kind of peace that any American can or should visualize. The only peace that we will ever recognize will be that of freedom of all people.

The editorial follows:

WHAT GOES ON HERE?

(By Henry Taylor)

Cyrus S. Eaton, the very rich crony of the U.S.S.R., continues to play a thoroughly damaging part in the life of our country. Technically, we are not at war. But if he is not giving aid and comfort to Russia, by what conceivable grave definition can that grave phrase be used?

Our national peril is officially declared. We arm, draft our men, serve notice we will fight for survival. Yet Mr. Eaton finds occasion after occasion to show his support of the Kremlin and display to the world dramatic approval of Soviet activities and of Khrushchev personally.

This is the man I saw rush up to Khrushchev at Orly Field in Paris to wring his hand in congratulations after the Red leader has insulted our President, our Nation and all Americans so violently a few hours before. In fact, Mr. Eaton flew all the way from Cleveland, he said, to do it. May I ask what we would have done if any American had done all this for Hitler?

Khrushchev pounded on the world with his shoe at the United Nations in New York and threatened annihilation of the free world by Red rockets. Mr. Eaton promptly gave him and his iron-fisted entourage a banquet, and a eulogy, at the Waldorf-Astoria. He described Khrushchev's completely phony disarmament plan as the "most statesmanlike utterance in my lifetime."

And now Mr. Eaton could hardly wait for Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin to reach Cuba on his propaganda tour before inviting him and other accompanying Russians to ply that trade up north; Alan Shepard and Virgil Grissom at the same time so properly declining Mr. Eaton's invitation to help the Cleveland tycoon give this Red charade an added push.

What goes on here?

This is the man the Kremlin gave perhaps the greatest badge of dishonor an American can receive—the insidious Lenin Peace Prize. It was after the Soviet butchery of Hungary. Yet Mr. Eaton announced in Moscow, "I am deeply appreciative of this high honor."

Others point to Henry Ford, Sr.'s lapse into the foolishness of his peace ship in World War I. But Mr. Ford's fantasy was whimsy as pure as driven snow and a single sad tour into dreamland. Mr. Eaton's operations are completely different in character and objective, are continuous and relentless and bear on our battle to shield ourselves and the free world from the known menaces of the U.S.S.R. and Communist imperialism.

Khrushchev has cited Mr. Eaton's "realism" in an official report to the Supreme Soviet Council. Mr. Eaton is repeatedly quoted in Pravda, Izvestia, Current Digest, the New Times (distributed throughout the Communist world in nine languages) Kommunist, the political organ of the Soviet Party, and Red radio outlet's which bounce his words off the raw iron girders of the Soviet police state.

In an article Mr. Eaton wrote for the Moscow magazine, the Progressive, he asserts that tension between the United States and Soviet Russia and the threat of nuclear war are primarily America's fault.

He states that America is "obsessed" by war. "I am firmly convinced the Russians want peace," he says. He insists we have not met the U.S.S.R. half way. He writes of America's "swollen pride," "boasting," "arrogance," "truculence," and says "someone will take up the challenge." He disparages the forces indispensable to our security and the free world and heaps contempt on our global battle to check the totalitarian forces he champions. He lavishes praise on Sino-Soviet actions, global performances, programs, and purposes. "Let's stop baiting Russia," he says.

**Japanese-American Citizens**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF**

**HON. RALPH R. HARDING**

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the privilege of reading an outstanding newspaper editorial that was inspired when the editor attended a district conference of the Japanese-American Citizens League. This editorial caused me to remember some of the wonderful experiences that I have had with Japanese-American citizens.

I remember some 20 years ago when my father was the high school football coach in the beautiful little town of St. Anthony, Idaho, and the friendship that we had with the Harry K. Hosoda family. Harry's son, Leo, was an outstanding high school fullback, even though he wasn't as big as most waterboys. What he lacked in size Leo certainly made up for in courage and enthusiasm.

Then there was Paul, another son, who followed in the footsteps of his brother Leo as an athlete. Paul was also very active in the swimming and recreational programs in the community and was a friend to all.

Just a year ahead of me in school was a daughter, Mabel. I will always remember Mabel as a very pretty little girl who always looked exceptionally clean and neat and was very friendly and kind—something that a grade school student didn't always expect from members of the class immediately ahead of him.

During the 8 years our family lived in St. Anthony, it was an annual ritual for Harry Hosoda to bring around a big, beautiful bunch of crisp celery each Thanksgiving. I am sure that there has never been a family living in America to whom Thanksgiving meant any more than it did to the Hosodas. They were the type of family that made the Japanese-American Citizens' League what it is today.

We in Idaho are extremely proud to have thousands of Japanese-American farmers, businessmen, and laborers. They are some of the finest citizens in our State.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include this thought-provoking editorial by Drury Brown, editor of the Blackfoot News, with my remarks today:

JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS KNOW WHY

(By Drury Brown)

Saturday evening it was my privilege to be a guest at the concluding session of the Intermountain District Conference of the Japanese-American Citizens League in Pocatello.

Included among the sparkling, well-dressed, cultured people who very obviously were having a grand time were a number of friends and neighbors of Blackfoot.

The people attending appeared to be another cross section of America, the sort that you might see at a district conference of Kiwanis or Rotary International.

In the youth section you were able to recognize some of the youngsters who excel in scholarship, in music, art, and student activities in the Blackfoot, Snake River, Pocatello and Idaho Falls High Schools.

It was a self-assured, proud and happy group whose only concern was that their guests might enjoy themselves to the same degree they were.

The Japanese-American Citizens League must be an unusual organization to inspire such enthusiasm among people who live as busy lives as I know they do, I thought.

Then we were ushered into the banquet hall of the Student Union Building and the banquet began. A master of ceremonies who perhaps might be described as an Anglo-Saxon took over the microphone to welcome the members and guests.

A moment later one of the speakers he had introduced in an aside to the audience said: "You may wonder about the reason for a person not of Japanese ancestry presiding at a JAACL banquet. The answer is that we



as JACL members do not believe in discrimination."

Awards were made to those members who in the junior and senior divisions of the organization had performed distinguished service.

As one speaker after another told how the JACL had served its people in the time of their travail you began to understand the devotion of its membership.

Stirring moments came with the awards by Hero Shiosaki of plaques to three non-Japanese men who unflinchingly stood by the Japanese people when it was not popular to do so.

One so recognized was a courageous bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ, LDS, Sam A. Dunn, Tyhee, who in a community where a number of Japanese lived and where, because of it, anti-Japanese feeling ran high, endured persecution and threats while championing the Japanese people and permitting the use of the church over which he presided.

There was a plaque presented to Edwin A. Volker, a courageous motor-dealer in Pocatello, who persisted in hiring Nisei after the war started despite threats and boycotts, and who followed on a pin-pointed map the progress in Italy of the 442d Regiment Combat Team in which the boys he had known were advancing at the cost of their blood.

There was the plaque presented in absentia to the blind U.S. Attorney, John A. Carver, by Tommy Miyasaki, a veteran of the 442d Combat Team who was blinded in the service of his country. The citation stated that while the Governor of the State of Idaho promptly forgot his promise, made before Pearl Harbor to the Japanese, the U.S. Attorney, now Justice Carver, never wavered.

One was stirred as they heard the story of the birth of the 442d Regiment Combat Team, the famed outfit known to the rest of the Army as the "Go for Broke" unit.

The Nisei after deciding that the Japanese people could prove their loyalty only through the shedding of their blood, asked to be released from their concentration camps to form an all-Japanese unit. No assignment was too hazardous for them.

Some of the young men who survived the 307-percent casualties suffered by the combat team are now among the businessmen and farmers of our community. (Others rest in Arlington National Cemetery.)

Then it was time for the speaker of the evening, "Mr. JACL," otherwise, Mike Masoaka, JACL representative in Washington.

For sheer presentation of what patriotism involves and how citizenship is earned, few have better understanding or ability of expression than he.

He congratulated the hearers with having won acceptance as citizens and for having proven their patriotism. "But now that you have arrived how do you feel about other minorities," he said.

What about the struggle of the Negro for citizenship?

"Are you willing to stand up and be counted?" he asked.

He recounted how during wartime he knew the inside of a Louisiana jail and knew how it was to have a howling mob on the outside clamoring for his blood.

"How do the Negroes feel? What is happening to the freedom riders once happened to us. How many of us in their time of travail or in the time of travail of any other minority group are willing to make our voices heard?"

"Let us never forget that there were Americans who in our hour of darkness lighted the path for us.

"Are you willing to extend to every other American the rights of citizenship that you now demand? Are you willing to fight to extend it to all other Americans?"

He recounted how during the late war Japanese-American and Negro-American

troops were denied the right to eat with other American troops while the enemy, German prisoners-of-war sat at the table.

He recited how discrimination remains in America; the discrimination in Colorado employment laws; the miscegenation law in Utah; the alien land law in Washington; the anti-Mongolian law prohibiting the right of non-Caucasians to vote or serve on juries in Idaho, the repeal of which will be voted on in the next general election.

"Regardless of what others may say, do the right thing. There was only one Buddha; there was only one Christ; there are in the Nation only 25,000 Quakers, but all have had an influence out of all proportion to their numbers," he concluded.

To at least one observer who always has taken his citizenship for granted along with the circumstance of having been born with a light skin, the conference was an enlightening experience.

Here were people who knew what it meant to be hated, who had proven themselves to be citizens of the highest order. They combined pride in ancestry with pride in their accomplishments. They knew how their citizenship had been bought.

How many of the rest of us do?

### I Fly the Flex Wing

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Ryan Reporter of August 1961:

#### I FLY THE FLEX WING

(By Lou Everett)

There had never been an aircraft resembling it. In an era of missiles, rockets, space vehicles, supersonic fighters and bombers, this strange-appearing creation seemed incongruous. But when I sat on the "Flex Wing" platform for the first time, I experienced the sensation of initial discovery which must have gripped the Wright brothers, Glenn Curtiss, and the other pioneers of flight.

For despite its deceptively primitive appearance, here was a vehicle geared to the space age—an adaptation of ancient principles to such 20th century applications as high altitude recovery of rocket boosters, space craft reentry, remote controlled reconnaissance drones, and helicopter-towed gliders to carry troops, cargo, or fuel.

This was Leonardo de Vinci brought up to date by Francis M. Rogallo, National Aeronautics and Space Administration scientist, whose flexible wing concept so intrigued Ryan that a test bed was designed by our aerospace engineers and manufactured in the company's main plant at Lindbergh Field, San Diego.

Rogallo had investigated the flexible wing's unique characteristics through wind tunnel and unmanned model studies and tests at NASA's Langley Research Center. Now came the start of the payoff—full-scale flights with the research test bed. With no precedent to draw from, this arrow-shaped, kite-like object was to provide the data available only from manned flight.

Hence that feeling of approaching an exciting new frontier when I examined the "Flex Wing" for the first time.

Seated in the open on a slab of aluminum suspended beneath a wing, produced by a

sailmaker, I experienced the same sort of exhilaration Orville Wright must have felt when his crude craft leaped briefly from the earth.

The test bed of the "Flex Wing" utilizes such off-the-shelf items as a control wheel from a World War II bomber, a seat from an old light plane, and foot pedals from a more recent light plane.

The wing is Mylar bonded to nylon. It hangs loosely between an aluminum longitudinal keel and two tubular leading edges flexibly joined at the front end of the keel. The wing, with a span of approximately 40 feet, is much like a boat sail in that its lifting power is derived from the flow of air which inflates it.

Suspended beneath the wing is the open-frame body with a four-wheel landing gear. A 180-horsepower Lycoming engine is mounted at the aft end of the fuselage, behind the pilot. The entire machine weighs about 1,500 pounds, including instrumentation.

Among our first discoveries during the taxi runs was the need for relocating the wing pitch control pivot point. This is a critical feature, since the "Flex Wing's" control system functions without conventional hinged surfaces and flaps. The principle is the same as that used by the German glider pioneer, Otto Lillenthal, in the control of his hang gliders.

Lift and drag forces of the wing must pass through or close to the control pivot point in order to keep the control forces from being excessively high. Hence, proper location of the wing control pivot point as related to the wing itself is vital. The body of the "Flex Wing" swings from hinges between the pylon and the wing keel. I move the fuselage forward, backward or sideward relative to the wing by manipulating the control yoke. This moves the horizontal position of the center of gravity relative to the center of pressure on the wing, causing moments which make the wing seek a new angle.

The first liftoff would answer many more questions. As I continued the taxi tests, these questions raced through my mind. Would the "Flex Wing" pitch up, roll over, "snake" back and forth, or just fly smoothly straight ahead?

Sitting so vulnerably out in the open, I thought:

Nothing like this has ever been herded through the air by man before. The closest to this was the hang glider experiments by Otto Lillenthal in Germany and Octave Chanute in this country, and they weren't very successful.

Speeds are building up in taxi tests. That first liftoff could come at any time, ease back on the control column, it's getting light, we're airborne.

It responds nicely to pitch control, a little slow to respond but we expected that because this is characteristic of the delta wing at high angles of attack.

My sensations are different from those experienced in any other flying machine. They can best be explained by imagining yourself sitting in a rocking chair controlled by a giant hand which occasionally rocks you sideways as well as back and forth.

The "Flex Wing" test bed is primarily a two-control vehicle, in that it has only pitch and roll control. Although lacking a rudder for conventional directional control, the plane has high directional stability. It has no tendency to sideslip; thus, when I bank, this stabilizing force keeps the nose coming around in a turn. For rising and descending, the wing is pitched relative to the platform by use of the conventional control column and wheel similar to that on most light planes.

There is no similarity with vertical velocity as is associated with the attitude change in conventional aircraft. You feel an up and down motion integrated with for-



ward velocity, similar to that in a helicopter, inasmuch as the test bed remains in a relatively level attitude.

As for the rocking sensation, I quickly realized—and this was confirmed by motion pictures of the early flights—that this motion is confined to the platform, confirming the fact that the machine as a whole has strong stability. The wing itself has a rock-steady attribute built into its high camber, delta planform.

As a result of our early flight tests, we have progressed through what can be considered a natural course of design changes and development. Most of the changes made were directly associated with proper location of the wing control pivot point as related to the wing itself.

It must be remembered that this test bed is not to be considered even an experimental airplane. It is a research vehicle used to prove basic principles which can be applied to a wide variety of missions of manned and unmanned vehicles that may be powered or unpowered. The applications of the Flex Wing range from small, powered reconnaissance drones maneuvered by remote control to huge, unpowered wings capable of recovering payloads and rocket boosters of 50 tons or more.

As our flight tests of the research vehicle for the U.S. Army Transportation Research Command continue, we will be answering the big question—

Can a flexible wing flying machine utilizing control by shifting the center of gravity be adequately controlled for all potential applications?

All indications to date point to an affirmative answer.

Inherent stability, extremely low storage volume, inexpensive lightweight construction which allows more effective wing area per unit-weight than a conventional wing, greater lift for a given wing weight—these are qualities of the Flex Wing we are proving in the current test program.

And in many ways I have the same pioneering feeling that America's first astronaut, Cmdr. Alan Shepard, must have had on his initial flight in another unconventional vehicle, the Mercury capsule.

## Where Do We Stand on Human Rights

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 22, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, how do we really feel about human rights? This is a serious question we Americans should be asking ourselves as we stand by, apparently helpless, as the rights of the East Germans are ruthlessly trampled under the crushing heel of communism. Where are the champions of liberty who bleed for the freedom riders in our Southern States, who weep for the people of Africa, but who are calm in the face of Soviet cruelties in East Berlin? Can any American read the following article by David Lawrence in today's Washington Evening Star without feeling a sense of shame at our apparent inability to take firm and determined action to halt the further degradation of human beings at the hands of the Communists? In my opinion the time has long since passed for the adminis-

tion to set forth a clear and firm policy for putting an end to Communist aggression anywhere in the world.

**SAD DAYS FOR WESTERN DIPLOMACY—UNITED NATIONS SEEN FAILING IN BERLIN FOR NOT ACTING ON RED AGGRESSION**

(By David Lawrence)

IN EUROPE.—Western diplomacy is floundering. It hasn't come up with a solution as to the policy it should pursue. But the simple fact is that more than 17 million human beings in East Germany have just been imprisoned in a huge concentration camp by order of the Soviet Government. They cannot see their relatives or friends who happen to live even just across the streets of the same city. They are sent to jail for looking at a bulletin board giving news of the world.

Meanwhile, the great organization known as the United Nations is floundering, too. It is supposed to be interested in violations of human rights. It is supposed to be concerned when there is a threat to world peace. The U.N. has special meetings when there is a crisis, but it is doing nothing about the Berlin problem. It is strangely silent as the many erstwhile champions of freedom and human liberty hesitate to use the forum to expose to the world the hypocrisies of Soviet colonialism.

There is no question about the violation of human rights. Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON went to Berlin to tell the people there of America's moral support. President Kennedy, in a message to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, said the closing of the East Berlin border restricting the movement of refugees underlined the struggle "for the protection of freedom, for human rights and for the principle of the self-determination of people." But here is a Reuters New Service item of Monday of this week:

"An East Berlin court jailed five men for terms ranging from three-and-a-half years' hard labor to 8 months' imprisonment. They were arrested on August 13 and 14 when demonstrating near the sector border against the East German border controls."

When an electric sign was erected in West Berlin a few days ago to carry in big letters the news of the world, persons in East Berlin who tried to read it from a distance were arrested for "demonstrating." East Berlin police have started, moreover, to move families out of houses which look out on West Berlin streets.

The instances cited are but a few of the many evidences of cruelty and inhumanity imposed on the East German people. If they had been freedom riders, they might have gotten sympathy in certain parts of the world. If they had been Tunisians in North Africa, they would have been applauded for exercising their right to self-determination. Indeed, Tunisia is a member of the U.N. and states her case, but the West German Republic isn't. The Soviet Union keeps out the West Germans.

There is beginning to develop in different parts of Europe an impression now that the Western governments fear the Moscow government's power and influence and that they feel it is risky even to debate the Berlin problem in the United Nations, where the Communists have lined up a sizable bloc in the last few years.

Brave words are uttered in the press about the sympathy of the United States Government for the East German people, but there are no signs that the Western governments are ready to make an issue of the flagrant violation of human rights in East Germany. It is vaguely hinted that the legalisms of the wartime agreements about Berlin some day will be negotiated or brought to the U.N. for debate, but the obvious issue—the human rights question—seems to have been

sidetracked altogether as a basis for action in either the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations, or both.

The two major political parties in West Germany have called for a U.N. debate on the Berlin issue. Mayor Brandt of West Berlin appealed personally by letter to President Kennedy to ask for action by the United Nations. Chancellor Adenauer said to the West German parliament a few days ago:

"He who tramples the right of self-determination with his feet must count on the deep contempt of all the people in the world who respect the Charter of the United Nations. There is only one possibility in placing Soviet-German relations on a new basis: The German people must be given the right to form a free and independent government that can speak and act for the whole German nation."

What cause could be more pertinent to world progress and world peace than the right of 17 million human beings to decide for themselves by whom and how they shall be governed? One wonders why the Western governments are shying away from the basic issue. By so doing, they may lose the prestige they have always enjoyed as champions of human liberty and freedom.

## Invasion of American Rights on the Part of Arab League Nations

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 23, 1961

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the assault upon the rights of Americans has become flagrant in Berlin, in Israel and other countries of the world. Our President has indicated with firmness our resolve to protect our rights and the rights of American citizens wherever they may be violated or infringed upon. The American Jewish Committee of the Institute of Human Relations headed by the brilliant Edwin J. Lukas, whom I have known for many years, and with whom I have worked on various aspects against discrimination, has forwarded me a brochure on the invasion of American rights on the part of the Arab League Nations, which I believe the readers will read with interest and with concern. The article follows:

### INVASION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS ON THE PART OF ARAB LEAGUE NATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

The Government of the United States has always regarded the protection of the essential rights and liberties of its citizens as its prime responsibility. Until recently, the conduct of America's foreign relations reflected firm commitment to this position; it was known throughout the world that actions impairing the dignity and equal rights of Americans, for whatever reason and in whatever land, would not be tolerated by the United States.

Of late, however, alarming departures have been noted. Most of the countries affiliated with the Arab League<sup>1</sup> have been permitted

<sup>1</sup> The Arab League consists of 10 countries: Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Yemen.



to impose discriminatory measures which interfere with the rights of Americans.

The purpose of these measures, which are part of a boycott against Israel, is not germane to the present discussion. Regardless of intent, it is in effect a boycott against Americans. This is the overriding fact.

To weigh the impact in terms of inconvenience would miss the crux of the matter. For even if the disadvantage suffered by Americans were negligible, there would still remain a loss which no self-respecting nation can afford—the loss of integrity and prestige incurred by submissiveness to affronts.

That our Government is pursuing a course degrading to the dignity of the United States transcends all other issues and requires close scrutiny by the American people.

Study of the situation reveals four main findings:

1. The Arab League nations have invaded American rights. They have blacklisted American citizens whose travel routes, religious beliefs or personal opinions do not conform with Arab League dictates. Agents of Arab governments operating on American soil have promoted discriminatory practices which are unlawful in many of our States. Americans subjected to these indignities include citizens of all faiths.

2. Our Government has accommodated itself to these and similar measures, even to the extent of yielding to Arab bias in contracts for foreign aid shipments and in personnel assignments to Arab territory.

3. The accommodation of our Government to intrusions upon its sovereignty and discriminatory abuses visited upon its citizens is without justification in American law or tradition.

4. Protests and other critical pronouncements of representatives bodies—the Congress of the United States, the legislatures of several States, the Republican and Democratic Parties—have not resulted in remedial action by our Federal Government.

These, in brief, are the facts. They point to the urgent need for informed public discussion and firm public insistence that our Government immediately reassert the principles of morality and law that have guided American foreign policy and protected American rights in the past.

#### THE ARAB LEAGUE BOYCOTT IN OPERATION

At its initiation in 1951, the Arab League boycott was applied to companies with branches in Israel or otherwise doing business there, and firms and individuals engaging in trade or commerce with that country. Since then, the scope of the boycott has been vastly extended. Specific terms of the regulations, made known piecemeal for several years, were not officially published until 1958.<sup>1</sup>

Today, procedures of intimidation and discrimination directed from offices in Damascus, Syria (UAR), and the Sheikdom of Kuwait, and applied in varying degrees by Arab League governments, include:<sup>2</sup>

1. Blacklisting many American companies having Americans of the Jewish faith among their officers, owners, directors, or even personnel.

2. Refusing visas to American citizens of the Jewish faith and forbidding them to disembark in some Arab League countries.

3. Preventing American servicemen and civilian employees of the Jewish faith from serving at an air base built in an Arab country with American funds and maintained by the United States.

Our Government, like many others, asserts that it opposes these acts. We have also committed ourselves to aid the economic de-

velopment of all countries of the Middle East, including Israel.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, American citizens find themselves subjected to measures instituted by foreign powers in contravention of U.S. policy. Moreover, since the boycott is partially prosecuted in this country, we are confronted with a situation in which American principles are flouted by representatives of foreign governments on American soil.

#### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST AMERICAN BUSINESS

In some cases, companies doing no business in Israel are nevertheless subject to the boycott if their management personnel includes Jews. This policy has been in effect since 1956. On March 5 of that year Foreign Commerce Weekly, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, contained the following report:

"Saudi Arabia intends to boycott all Jewish or Jewish-directed firms from trading with that country, according to information received by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce.

"This new policy greatly extends the provisions of the existing boycott against firms having branches, assembly plants, or general agents in Israel, as well as firms having shares in Israeli companies.

"Implementation of the new policy normally will be accomplished by Saudi Arabian consulates, who are responsible for legalization of commercial invoices and certificates of origin."

Sometimes it is required, as by Kuwait, that the absence of Jews in American companies trading with Arab countries be certified by an agency of the U.S. Government; sometimes efforts are made to enlist the cooperation of local chambers of commerce.

Fortune magazine informed its readers of the policy as follows:

"Businessmen throughout the world were in receipt some months ago of a strange questionnaire. Dated Cairo, Egypt, the questionnaire pressed them for information on whether their firms were guilty of having Jewish ownership or participation. To such shenanigans has Egypt's Nasser been reduced."

The following questions, excerpted from that "strange questionnaire," are now asked orally and surreptitiously by Arab representatives:

"Do you have any Jewish employees in your company; if yes, how many and what are the positions held by them?

"Are there any Jews on your Board of Directors as members?

"Are any of your managers or branch managers Jews; if yes, please give the names of the department headed by such a man?

"Is any of the persons authorized to sign on behalf of your company a Jew?

"What is the number of Jewish laborers in your factories and offices?"

Most American businessmen deem such questions impertinent. Moreover, in localities where State or municipal legislation forbids inquiring into the religious affiliations of prospective employees, the Arab inquisition is tantamount to law breaking. Some companies which now transact no business with the Middle East and are not presently bothered by the boycott may well be reluctant to employ Jews, at least in prominent positions, lest they be barred from new markets in the future.

While management executives find it exceedingly distasteful to be placed in the position of appearing indifferent to basic

<sup>1</sup>Sec. 142 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, provides that assistance shall not be furnished to any nation unless such nation has agreed to join in promoting international understanding and good will, and maintaining world peace; take such action as may be mutually agreed upon to eliminate causes of international tension.

<sup>2</sup>Fortune, August 1957, p. 80.

American principles, those succumbing to Arab pressures take the view that they are in business for profit; the welfare of stockholders and employees is at stake. It is further argued that individual executives and companies can hardly be expected to sacrifice business interests in order to uphold national principles and policies which their government affirms in word but not in deed.

In several instances, to be sure, the government has spoken. Thus, in 1956, when the boycott was extended to companies having Jewish ownership or participation, the New York office of the U.S. Department of Commerce announced: "The United States does not recognize the boycott."<sup>4</sup> But the truth of the matter is that the United States has taken no effective action.

#### INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN TRAVEL

Among the most discriminatory acts of the Arab League is the closing of some Arab gateways, sea, land, and air, to American citizens of Jewish faith.

Refusal of some Arab airports to permit passengers to disembark is in defiance of established custom. It is normal procedure in civilized countries that when a plane is required to stop en route, whether for unexpected repair or some prearranged purpose, the passengers may rest in the airport until time to resume their trip. By common consent of all who maintain air travel facilities, the traveler has come to expect this hospitality.

Yet in recent years, officials of some Arab airports have forced Jewish passengers—including, of course, American Jews—to remain in their planes. Among the airports where Americans were, until recently, thus affronted is the commercial terminal in Cairo, Egypt, formerly known as Payne Field, which the United States transferred to the Egyptian Government after World War II, when it was no longer needed as a military installation.

A typical incident is related by a veteran of the Women's Army Corps, born in Washington, D.C., who returned from a trip around the world. Flying from Bombay, India, to Rome, her plane made an unexpected stop at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Upon returning home, she wrote to the Washington Post:

"I remained on the plane during the time it stopped in Dhahran, but could not help but be repulsed by the indignities that Americans and personnel of an American airline are subjected to by the Arab countries. I hope the Department of State will certainly take early and effective action to discourage such degrading practices against American citizens."

Expressing sympathy at the annoyance caused by this experience, the Department of State declared that "the United States, as a matter of policy, does not condone discriminatory treatment of its citizens by foreign governments . . . the Department of State has and will continue to make official representations against any instances of such discrimination which come to its attention."

But there is no indication in this or any other instance that a forthright protest was lodged.

Our Government's passivity in these situations flies in the face of Federal legislation reflecting American policy with respect to travel here and abroad. The Federal Aviation Act of 1958 contains this provision:

"No air carrier or foreign air carrier shall make, give, or cause any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, port, locality, or description of traffic in air transportation in any respect whatsoever or subject any particular person, port, locality, or description of traffic in

<sup>3</sup>The New York Times, Jan. 26, 1956.

<sup>4</sup>The Washington Post, May 23, 1961, p. A12.

<sup>1</sup>"The Truth About the Arab Boycott," Arab News and Views, Arab Information Center, New York, Feb. 5, 1958.

<sup>2</sup>A supplement on other aspects of the boycott is available on request.



air transportation to any unjust discrimination or any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."<sup>7</sup>

The issuance of visas by some Arab governments adheres to a similar discriminatory pattern. Americans generally encounter no difficulty unless their passports carry an Israel visa, in which case they are denied entry by most Arab League countries, especially those neighboring Israel. But Americans who are identified as Jewish are automatically barred from Jordan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia.

Application of these bans to stage and screen stars, including those who have Jewish husbands or wives, or have manifested friendliness toward Israel, has attracted much publicity. Among the many performers blacklisted are Edward G. Robinson, Danny Kaye, and Jerry Lewis.

#### THE TRADITIONAL PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

American history records numerous attempts by foreign powers to discriminate against American citizens. The resistance of our Government has been, until recent years, consistent and unequivocal. To cite a few examples:

**Austria:** In 1885, the Austro-Hungarian Government protested the appointment of Anthony M. Kelley, of Virginia, an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, on the ground that he was married to a Jewish woman.

Replying on behalf of our Government, Secretary of State Bayard declared:

"It is not within the power of the President nor of the Congress, nor of any judicial tribunal in the United States, to take or even hear testimony, or in any mode to inquire into or decide upon the religious belief of any official, and the proposition to allow this to be done by any foreign government is necessarily and a fortiori inadmissible.

"To suffer an infraction of this essential principle would lead to a disenfranchisement of our citizens because of their religious belief, and thus impair or destroy the most important end which our constitution of government was intended to secure."

Although Mr. Kelley resigned his commission, the United States declined to make another appointment. For several years thereafter only a chargé d'affaires represented our country in Austria.

**Russia:** A succession of American officials firmly rejected efforts of the Imperial Russian Government to apply its anti-Semitic policies to American Jews who visited or sought to visit its territory. Thus, writing in 1881 to the American Minister in London, Secretary of State James G. Blaine said:

"I am well aware that the domestic enactments of a state toward its own subjects is not generally regarded as a fit matter for the intervention of another independent power. But when such enactments directly affect the liberty and property of foreigners who resort to a country under the supposed guarantee of treaties framed for the most liberal ends, when the conscience of an alien owing no allegiance whatever to the local sovereignty is brought under the harsh yoke of bigotry or prejudice which bows the necks of the natives, and when enlightened appeals made to humanity, to the principles of just reciprocity and to the advancing spirit of the age, in behalf of tolerance, are met with intimations of a purpose to still further burden the unhappy sufferers and so to necessarily increase the disability of foreigners of the like creed . . . it becomes in a high sense a moral duty to our citizens and to

the doctrines of religious freedom we so strongly uphold, to seek proper protection for those citizens and tolerance for their creed, in foreign lands, even at the risk of criticism of the municipal laws of other states."

Again in 1895, rejecting the notion that the Russians were at liberty to discriminate against American Jews within their own empire, our Acting Secretary of State, Alvey A. Adee, said:

"Viewed in the light of an invidious discrimination tending to discredit and humiliate Americans Jews in the eyes of their fellow citizens, it is plain that the action of Russian consular officers does produce its effect within American territory, and not exclusively in Russian jurisdiction."

In 1911, outraged by the Russian Government's persistence in subjecting American citizens to various anti-Semitic practices, the House of Representatives urged President William Howard Taft to terminate the treaty which had governed our trade with Russia since 1832. The treaty was abrogated by Secretary of State Philander Knox in December 1911.

**Switzerland:** In the mid-eighties, on learning that many cantons in Switzerland refused to admit American Jews, President Fillmore stated that "It is indispensable . . . that every privilege granted to any of the citizens of the United States should be granted to all." Some years later, after vigorous efforts by our State Department, the disabilities against Jews in Switzerland were removed.

In 1924, the Government of Switzerland denied a group of American Mormon missionaries extension of their cantonal residence permits. Assuming that this exclusion was based on religious grounds, our envoy made representations to the Swiss Government. The matter was dropped only when our Government was satisfied there were other reasons for the move.<sup>11</sup>

**Germany:** Starting with the Nazi decree of April 26, 1938, requiring the declaration of property owned by Jews, numerous protests against similar acts were voiced by the U.S. Government. The United States insisted that application of such decrees to the property of its citizens violated rights of Americans under existing treaties and by virtue of comity and international law.

**Italy:** In 1938, when the Italian Government ordered the expulsion of Jews, regardless of nationality, who had come to Italy or its possessions after January 1, 1919, the United States registered a series of protests "against the application to American nationals of measures which would have the effect of dividing them into two broad classes; namely Jewish and non-Jewish, and would accord to the former differential treatment."<sup>12</sup>

**Danzig:** In 1939, the State Department instructed our consul at Danzig to protest the imposition of a property tax levied only on Jews. Here, too, the United States insisted that treaties with respect to the treatment of our nationals abroad be applied to all our nationals "without exception based on race or creed," adding that the United States "declines to recognize the rights of other nations to apply measures to American citizens which would have the effect of arbitrarily dividing them into special classes and subjecting them to differential treatment."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>11</sup> "Digest of International Law," by Goren Haywood Hackworth, State Department Publication No. 1708, VIII, No. 286. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942

"Measures Based on Race or Creed," p. 696.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 647.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 647.

#### DEPARTURES FROM U.S. TRADITION

In the light of public policy defined and adhered to in the past, citizens of the United States would naturally expect their Government to take an implacable stand against Arab intrusions on American rights. But these expectations have not been borne out. Not alone have agencies of the Government acquiesced passively to the boycott; they have served actively, in many instances, as its instruments.

The Department of State is specifically charged with responsibility to protect the interests of Americans in their relations with foreign governments. Yet in 1959, when the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) investigated a complaint that the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco) was unlawfully inquiring into the religion of prospective employees, William M. Rountree, then Assistant Secretary of State, wrote as follows:

"Any finding by the Commission (SCAD) which would compel Aramco to employ persons of Jewish faith in Saudi Arabia would hardly be made effective in view of the known attitude of the Saudi Government. Efforts by Aramco to implement such a finding would most certainly prejudice the company's operations in that country and would probably adversely affect the U.S. interests there as well."<sup>14</sup>

The State Department's effort to follow the road of least resistance failed in this instance. The courts of New York State refused to sanction SCAD's ruling that the antidiscrimination law had no application to the case.<sup>15</sup>

The Defense Department has deferred to Saudi Arabia's exclusion of American Jews from the Air Force personnel at the U.S. base at Dhahran, claiming this flagrant act of discrimination a justifiable assertion of sovereignty. The fact that Jewish servicemen are excluded from the Dhahran base stands in glaring contrast to U.S. action under similar circumstances in 1911, when the House of Representatives resolved to notify Russia that "the Government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates between American citizens on the ground of race or religion."<sup>16</sup>

After surrendering principles heretofore deemed fundamental to American integrity in order to retain the Dhahran base, our Government was notified that the treaty granting us occupancy, which expires in 1962, will not be renewed by Saudi Arabia.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, in addition to accepting the continued blacklisting of American Jewish servicemen, the Defense Department, at Arab insistence, also imposes restrictions on Christian worship in Saudi Arabia: U.S. chaplains refrain from wearing crosses; services for American personnel are conducted as unobtrusively as possible, and Catholic priests wear lay attire in order to avoid offending the religious sensitivities of local authorities.

The Department of Agriculture and the Commodity Credit Corporation yield to the boycott even as to contracts for dry-cargo vessels owned by American citizens that carry surplus commodities sold to Arab countries under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480). The contracts, insisted upon by Arab governments, state explicitly that "the vessel is prohibited from calling at Israel waters or ports. Trans-shipment is prohibited."<sup>18</sup> The law provides that 50 percent of surplus

<sup>14</sup> The New York Times, May 19, 1959.

<sup>15</sup> Official court report: 19 N.Y. Misc. (2d) 205; affirmed in the New York court of appeals.

<sup>16</sup> H.J. Res. 166, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dec. 13, 1911, p. 311

<sup>17</sup> The New York Times, Mar. 17, 1961.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Feb. 4, 1960.

<sup>7</sup> Public Law 85-726; 72 Stat. 731. Sec. 404(b). The Interstate Commerce Act contains a virtually identical provision.

<sup>8</sup> "With Firmness in the Right," by Cyrus Adler, American Jewish Committee, New York, 1940, pp. 325-326.



products sent abroad must go in American bottoms; thus, while American ships must be used for half the deliveries, we have permitted Arab governments, by constructing a blacklist, to render certain American vessels and owners ineligible for carrying these shipments.

#### OTHER NATIONS HAVE CALLED THE ARAB BLUFF

The vigorous reactions of other nations stand in sharp contrast to the failure, in virtually every instance, of agencies of the Federal Government to reject the boycott by some effective action, rather than words. Even our occasional lame representations have been rarely spontaneous; usually they have been called forth by letters of protest or inquiry from Members of Congress and interested organizations.

The Dutch Government, through Prime Minister Willem Drees, announced in 1957 that it would resist boycott measures aimed at Israel or Jewish firms which threaten infringement of Dutch interests.<sup>19</sup> This policy remains in effect. In February 1961, Dr. Henrik R. van Houten, Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, condemned Dutch exporters who discriminate against Jews in order to curry favor with the Arabs.<sup>20</sup>

England: With the extension of the boycott in 1956, the London Chamber of Commerce declined to certify firms as not being owned by Jews.<sup>21</sup> During the House of Commons discussion on February 22, 1961, concerning the arrangements for an Arab League office to be opened in London, the Government was asked:

"Has it been made clear to the Arab League that this office is not welcome here if it is to be used to spy on British firms trading with Israel or organizing a boycott against trading with Israel, or publishing anti-Semitic propaganda here?"

To which Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, replied: "We want this office to conduct itself in the normal and proper manner."<sup>22</sup>

West Germany: In 1952, while Israel and the German Federal Republic were conducting negotiations which led to the reparations agreement designed to compensate ex-Germans of the Jewish faith who had suffered at the hands of the Nazis, the Arab League tried to intervene. The West German Government was informed that the contemplated agreement would adversely affect Arab-German relations, and a general boycott of German goods was threatened. So vigorous was the Arab warning that a sizable body of German opinion, especially industrial groups, tried to prevent consummation of the agreement. Yet once it was ratified, the threatened boycott failed to materialize. Egypt resumed trade negotiations with Germany which had been suspended as part of the boycott threat.<sup>23</sup> West Germany has since continued to fulfill its obligations under the reparations agreement and maintains commercial relations with Israel. The Arab League nations nevertheless continue to do business with Germany.

The Arab pose of irrevocable commitment to the boycott obviously collapses when confronted by unyielding refusal to compromise or retreat.

#### TO REASSERT THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS

Calls to reassert the long-established principle that no spokesman or agency of the U.S. Government is empowered to practice

or condone discrimination against citizens of this country have come from Congress, from the legislatures of several States, and from both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

The U.S. Senate, on July 26, 1956, adopted a resolution (S. Res. 323) introduced by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, of New York:

"Whereas the protection of the integrity of the U.S. citizenship and the proper rights of the U.S. citizens in their pursuit of lawful trade, travel, and other activities abroad is a principle of U.S. sovereignty; and

"Whereas it is a primary principle of our Nation that there shall be no distinction among U.S. citizens based on their individual religious affiliations and since any attempt by foreign nations to create such distinctions among our citizens in the granting of personal or commercial access or any other rights otherwise available to U.S. citizens generally is inconsistent with our principles: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that it regards any such distinctions directed against U.S. citizens as incompatible with the relations that should exist among friendly nations, and that in all negotiations between the United States and any foreign state every reasonable effort should be made to maintain this principle."

Both Houses of Congress, on May 2, 1960, adopted a "Freedom of the Seas" amendment to the Mutual Security Act, introduced by Senators PAUL DOUGLAS and KENNETH KEATING:

"It is the sense of the Congress that inasmuch as (1) the United States favors freedom of navigation in international waterways and economic cooperation between nations; and (2) the purposes of this act are negated and the peace of the world is endangered when nations which receive assistance under this act wage economic warfare against other nations assisted under this act, including such procedures as boycotts, blockades, and the restriction of the use of international waterways; assistance under this act and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, shall be administered to give effect to these principles, and, in all negotiations between the United States and any foreign state arising as a result of funds appropriated under this act or arising under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, these principles shall be applied, as the President may determine, and he shall report on measures taken by the administration to insure their application."<sup>24</sup>

Despite this clear expression of congressional interest, the State Department indicated that nothing would be done to implement the amendment, since it is not a law. In a letter to Senator KEATING, dated February 24, 1961, John S. Hogland 2d, Acting Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, said:

"The Department has so far concluded that efforts to link the Mutual Security Act directly to the Suez transit question would only intensify the very trade and transit restrictions which we all hope may be eliminated, while at the same time playing into the hands of the Communists by exacerbating Middle East tensions."

The new 1961 Act for International Development (AID), pending, provides for renewed foreign aid and also repeals the Mutual Security Act and the various riders written into the foreign-aid program dealing with discrimination against American citizens, economic boycott and freedom of the seas. AID contains language seeking to restate in a general way the policy provisions of previous foreign-aid acts cited above, but

<sup>24</sup> Mutual Security Act of 1960 (Public Law 86-472; 74 Stat. 134), sec. 2, which amends sec. 2(f) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

again falls to urge the President to withhold loans or grants derived from funds appropriated under the act from countries which discriminate against American citizens because of race or religion.

The Legislatures of California, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin have called on the Government to stiffen its position in respect to Arab discrimination against American citizens.

For example, the New York resolution, carried in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 12, 1961, states:

"That the Department of State be and is hereby respectfully memorialized (a) to take a firm position against Arab interference in the conduct of the affairs of American citizens and businessmen;

"(b) to obtain from any cooperation with the Arab League boycott activities and policies;

"(c) to resist any efforts by Arab nations to maintain or widen its boycott activities in the United States; and

"(d) to exert all possible efforts and utilize its resources to the fulfillment of the spirit and purposes of this resolution."

The Republican and Democratic platforms of 1960 pledged both parties to firm resistance to the boycott. Similar planks were adopted in 1956.

The 1960 Republican platform promised: To seek an end to transit and trade restrictions, blockades, and boycotts. To secure freedom of navigation in international waterways, the cessation of discrimination against Americans on the basis of religious beliefs.

The 1960 Democratic platform stated: We will encourage an end to boycotts and blockades, and unrestricted use of the Suez Canal by all nations.

During the 1960 campaign, in response to inquiry, presidential candidate John F. Kennedy wrote:

"There can be no doubt of where I stand on this problem. I wholeheartedly joined with other Senators—during the most recent Congress—to support an amendment to mutual security legislation which called on the President to withhold U.S. assistance from those countries that engaged in economic warfare, including boycott or blockade against other states who are beneficiaries of our mutual security program. As President, I would certainly implement an act, expressing the sense of the Senate, when I so enthusiastically supported that piece of legislation. I would also carry out the mandate, twice expressed by the Senate, that the President act affirmatively to protect all American citizens from the practice of religious or racial discrimination by foreign governments."

As recently as May 3, 1961, Senator KEATING entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from Brooks Hays, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Although emphasizing that the Government "does not recognize or condone the Arab boycott," Mr. Hays gave no indication that any effective action was contemplated to support this position. Nor have the policy declarations by other bodies, State and national, or by President Kennedy himself, evoked any constructive response from the administrative officers of the Federal Government.

Yet no arm of our Government can remain forever impervious to thoughtful and sustained expressions of public opinion. The time has come for conscientious citizens and citizen groups to make themselves heard.

The principle at stake was never more succinctly summed up than in the words of William Howard Taft:<sup>25</sup>

"National prestige must be used not only for the benefit of the world at large, but for the benefit of our own citizenship; and,

<sup>25</sup> Address delivered at the Thalia Theater, New York, Oct. 28, 1908.

<sup>19</sup> London Jewish Chronicle, Oct. 4, 1957.

<sup>20</sup> The Netherlands Parliament, Second Chamber, Official Record, Government Printing Office, The Hague, Feb. 21-22, 1961.

<sup>21</sup> Circular to Members, No. 402, Mar. 21, 1956. London Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>22</sup> The Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, Official Report, London, Feb. 22, 1961, cols. 491-492.

<sup>23</sup> American Jewish Year Book, vol. 54, p. 485; vol. 55, p. 251.



therefore, as we gain in international prestige we ought to assert our insistence that our passport certifying our citizenship should secure to every man, without regard to creed or race, the same treatment, the same equality of opportunity in every nation of the globe."

Public opinion should demand a return to our Government's traditional insistence that it cannot acknowledge as legitimate, much less accommodate itself to, practices or policies which deny the equality of American citizenship.

Foreign countries have no sovereign right to discriminate among American citizens. As recent court decisions have underscored, no such right is vested in our own States, or in the Federal Government. That any other power should presume to tread on liberties declared inviolate by our Constitution is an assault upon the American people, an invasion of American rights. The dignity of the United States, its status as a champion of universal human rights, demands that this invasion be promptly repelled.

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### The President's Thinking in 1949 on the Loss of Free China

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include, without comment, the following reprint from the August 18, 1961, issue of Human Events:

#### HOW THE REDS CONQUERED CHINA

(Annotated by Dr. Anthony Kubek)<sup>1</sup>

(NOTE.—The following address was delivered by Representative John F. Kennedy at Salem, Mass., on January 30, 1949. It assumes particular significance in view of current persistent rumors that we may recognize the Soviet puppet government of Outer Mongolia and support admission of Red China to the United Nations. This strong statement by Mr. Kennedy would lead us to hope that these rumors are irresponsible and unfounded. Except for corrections made in footnotes, Mr. Kennedy's 1949 statement is clear, accurate and logical.)

Over these past few days we have learned the extent of the disasters befalling China and the United States. Our relationship with China since the end of the Second World War has been a tragic one, and it is of the utmost importance that we search out and spotlight those who must bear the responsibility for our present predicament.

When we look at the ease with which the Communists have overthrown the National Government of Chiang Kai-shek, it comes as somewhat of a shock to remember that on November 22, 1941, our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, handed Ambassador Nomura an ultimatum to the effect that: (1) Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air, and police forces from China and Indochina; (2) the United States and Japan will not support militarily, politically, economically, any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China.

It was clearly enunciated that the independence of China and the stability of the National Government was the fundamental object of our Far Eastern policy.

That this and other statements of our policies in the Far East led directly to the attack on Pearl Harbor is well known. And it might be said that we almost knowingly entered into combat with Japan to preserve the independence of China and the countries to the south of it.<sup>2</sup> Contrast this policy which reached its height in 1943 when the United States and Britain agreed at Cairo to liberate China and return to that country at the end of the war Manchuria and all Japanese-held areas, to the confused and vacillating policy which we have followed since that day.

In 1944 Gen. "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell presented a plan to arm 1 million Chinese Com-

munist, who had been carefully building their resources in preparation for a postwar seizure of power, and with them to capture Shanghai and clear the Yangtze. This plan was supported by some State Department officials, including Ambassador Clarence Gauss. Chiang Kai-shek refused to cooperate with this plan, which would have presented the Chinese Communists with an easy coup. Chiang requested that Stilwell be recalled, which caused such bitter comment in this country; and Gauss resigned. From this date on our relations with the National Government declined.

At the Yalta Conference in 1945 a sick Roosevelt, with the advice of General Marshall and other Chiefs of Staff, gave the Kurile Islands as well as the control of various strategic Chinese ports, such as Port Arthur and Dairen, to the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup>

According to former Ambassador Bullitt, in Life magazine in 1948, "Whatever share of the responsibility was Roosevelt's and whatever share was Marshall's the vital interest of the United States in the independent integrity of China was sacrificed, and the foundation was laid for the present tragic situation in the Far East."

When the armies of Soviet Russia withdrew from Manchuria they left Chinese Communists in control of this area and in possession of great masses of Japanese war material.

During this period began the great split in the minds of our diplomats over whether to support the government of Chiang Kai-shek, or force Chiang Kai-shek as the price of our assistance to bring Chinese Communists into his government to form a coalition.

When Ambassador Patrick Hurley resigned in 1945 he stated, "Professional diplomats continuously advised the Chinese Communists that my efforts in preventing the collapse of the National Government did not represent the policy of the United States. The chief opposition to the accomplishment of our mission came from American career diplomats, the Embassy at Chungking, and the Chinese and Far Eastern divisions of the State Department."

With the troubled situation in China beginning to loom large in the United States, General Marshall was sent at the request of President Truman as special emissary to China to effect a compromise and to bring about a coalition government.

In Ambassador Bullitt's article in Life, he states, and I quote: "In early summer of 1946 in order to force Chiang Kai-shek to take Communists into the Chinese Government, General Marshall had the Department of State refuse to give licenses for export of ammunition to China. Thus from the summer of 1946 to February 1948 not a single shell or a single cartridge was delivered to China for use in its American armament. And in the aviation field Marshall likewise blundered, and as a result of his breaking the American Government's contract to deliver to China planes to maintain eight and one-third air groups, for 3 years no combat or bombing planes were delivered to China—from September 1946 to March 1948." As Marshall himself confessed in February 1948 to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, this "was in effect an embargo on military supplies."

In 1948 we appropriated \$468 million for China, only a fraction of what we were sending to Europe, and out of this \$468 million only \$125 million was for military purposes. The end was drawing near; the assistance was too little and too late; and the Nationalist Government was engaged in a death struggle with the onrushing Communist armies.

On November 20, 1948, former Senator D. Worth Clark, who had been sent on a special mission to China by the Senate Com-

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of speech.